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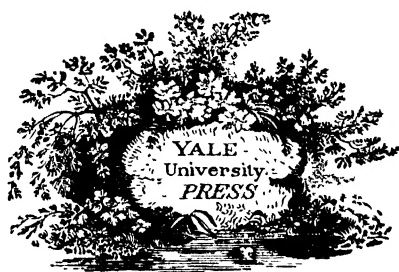
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Samuel Richardson

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RECORD OF HIS LITERARY CAREER WITH HISTORICAL NOTES

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PREFACE

THIS work was undertaken and brought to completion while I was a member of the faculty of Yale University, where no student of the literature of the eighteenth century does not find himself indebted to the wisdom and kindness of Professor Chauncey B. Tinker. The desire not to be found wanting in his esteem is a constant challenge to one's potentialities.

I find myself also indebted to others of my former colleagues and friends at New Haven, and to the staff of the Yale University Library. I must express my gratitude for the special assistance afforded me by Miss Henrietta Bartlett, Miss Emily Hall, Mr. William Ruff, Mr. Carl P. Rollins, Mr. John C. Pope, and Mr. Gilbert M. Troxell, of New Haven. But in choosing to acknowledge first my indebtedness nearest home, I am none the less sensible of the generous coöperation offered me elsewhere, both in this country and abroad. My warmest thanks are due to Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth of the John Carter Brown Library; the late Harold Murdock of the Harvard University Press; Miss Katherine Hornbeak of Smith College; Mr. John McDill of Woodstock, Vermont; Mr. C. Seymour Thompson of the University of Pennsylvania Library and Professor John C. Mendenhall, Curator of the Singer Collection at the University of Pennsylvania; Mr. David C. Knoblauch of the Library Company, Philadelphia; and Mr. Richard G. Hensley of the Public Library of the City of Boston.

Abroad I was most generously assisted by Miss Elsie A. Russ of the Victoria Art Gallery and Municipal Libraries, Bath; Mr. Joseph Hanna of Trinity College, Dublin; Mr. John Warner of the Newport Public Libraries; Mr. W. J. Townsend Collins, editor of the *South Wales Argus*, Newport; and Mr. Victor Rothschild of Cambridge.

To the staffs of many libraries I owe a debt which only fellow students in the field of bibliography can appreciate. I have found always a ready welcome and tireless coöperation. My thanks must go broadcast; and I can mention here only those libraries on whose facilities I have depended most frequently. No student of Richardson can fail to be grateful to the libraries of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, and of the British Museum; and to the libraries of Yale University and Harvard College. In addition to these I must mention the libraries of Columbia University, of Brown University, of the University of Chicago, of the

Bodleian, of the University of Edinburgh, of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, and of Trinity College, Dublin. Also I must express gratitude for access to the books and manuscripts of the Boston Athenæum Library, of the Pierpont Morgan Library, of the Pennsylvania Historical Society and the Library Company, Philadelphia, of the Newberry Library, Chicago, of the St. Bride Foundation Institute, London, of the Library of Congress, and of the great public libraries of New York City and Boston. The staffs of the Public Record Office and the London Guildhall offered generous assistance; and the privileges accorded me by Mr. Gerald Rivington, clerk of the Stationers' Company, were invaluable.

The understanding as well as the loyalty of my wife were mine from the first collation to the preparation of the index.

W. M. S., JR.

Ithaca, New York

November, 1936.

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INTRODUCTION

THESE bibliographical materials for the study of the literary career of Samuel Richardson are not offered with the belief that the task of investigation and description is completely done. Variants and issues which have not come to my attention will in all likelihood be discovered; certain books which I have identified by title and a few editions which I have found mentioned in advertisements will, I trust, be located; new work which can be ascribed to Richardson may eventually be found, and pieces of his writing which seem irretrievably lost may be brought to light. In an admirable study of the novelist just published by Alan D. McKillop, we find indisputable evidence of Richardson's hand in the revision and correction of James Maclerc's *Christian's Magazine* (*Samuel Richardson Printer and Novelist*, Chapel Hill, 1936, p. 315). Inasmuch as I had found no evidence that Richardson had any connection with this book except as its printer, I had reserved my consideration of it for a brief summary of doubtful ascriptions. Though it is now too late to include a detailed description of this book, I shall return later to a discussion of the problem. The notes which follow my bibliographical descriptions stand corrected and amplified in a dozen places by Mr. McKillop's book. That the users of this bibliography may have access to all relevant data, I shall indicate in the next few pages the nature of Mr. McKillop's contributions. I will be happy to receive any further information by which this bibliography may be made more useful; and I hope

in the brief summary of Richardson's career which I am providing by way of introduction to suggest more emphatically the things which remain to be done than to provide a synthesis of things done. In some instances I feel that further research will prove futile; in some instances I feel reasonably hopeful that it will be rewarded.

Samuel Richardson's career as a novelist began in the autumn of 1739, twenty-five years after he had completed his apprenticeship and started to practise the trade of printer, and fifty years after his birth as the son of an inconspicuous London joiner, then living in Derbyshire. He could not claim descent from an earl as did Henry Fielding, nor from a bishop as did Laurence Sterne. His ancestors on both sides were yeomen and small tradesmen. Nor had Richardson by 1739 won unusual distinction in his own name. He was then the master of a successful commercial press; he held, by reason of his press's reputation, an appointment under the clerk of the House of Commons; and he was one of three printers chosen to publish works of scholarly importance which the Society for the Encouragement of Learning elected to subsidize. As evidence of the esteem in which he was held by his fellow printers, it may be pointed out that he was at this time an officer and stockholder in the Company of Stationers. But had he not begun the writing of *Pamela* in November, 1739, these details of his career as printer would never have become a matter of general concern.

During most of the years spent in bringing

his press to the position which it occupied at *Pamela's* publication, Richardson had no idea of serving the book trade or the general public except as a printer, as an undisclosed partner in larger publishing ventures, and as an assistant to certain booksellers in the preparation of indexes, prefaces, and what he chose to call "honest dedications" (*Barbauld*, I, xlv; the original of the letter of Richardson from which Mrs. Barbauld was quoting is now in the possession of Mr. McKillop, *op. cit.*, p. 7). He made a certain number of abstracts, abridgements, and compilations, and his advice, if he may be trusted, was sought by booksellers when they were in doubt about publishing works offered them. But there is prejudice against accepting the fact that a novelist springs into being full grown. Mrs. Barbauld, in respecting this prejudice, professed to believe that the writing of "honest dedications" was an employment which "tended to facilitate to him the use and management of the pen" (*loc. cit.*); but such tasks seem more closely associated with his trade as printer than with his art as novelist. In 1736 a group of his fellow printers referred humorously to his "eloquent disquisitions in prose" (see below, p. 107). But the fact that this phrase in 1736 had a peculiar significance for the printing trade which it did not have for the general public seems to indicate that these "disquisitions" were the prefaces and dedications supplied for booksellers, and perhaps an occasional contribution to periodicals edited by his friends and printed at his shop. Further research may provide us with the number and nature of these early essays in prose, but all investigation which has been conducted has resulted in conjectures too uncertain to be recorded here.

It seemed more important to Richardson himself to omit mention of his literary activity from 1715 to 1740, and to return to his boyhood for incidents which marked him for his peculiar destiny. He tells us in an oft-quoted letter that boys found him a youngster inept at games and frankly uninterested in most of their forms of play—a lad redeemed only by the moments when his lively gift for "invention" satisfied their craving for a story (*Barbauld*, I, xxxvi–xl). But three of the young girls of the village, recognizing self-consciously the promptings of love, chose Samuel for their confidant, each being careful to preserve an air of secrecy, and to conceal the fact from the other two. Prompted by turns to give themselves to love and to flee from it, they sought Samuel as guide and instructor. The art to "unwind the mazes of the female heart" and to discern its secrets was first learned in an atmosphere where, amid alternate giggles and blushes, the disturbing and exciting awareness of sex crept upon adolescent country girls. He wrote letters for these three girls, stood over them as they copied his phrases, and aided them in forming answers which would show the proper degree of warmth, or the needed suggestion of severity. When Samuel would urge a show of disdain, or advise a strategic repulse, the girls begged that he permit them to change or soften a phrase. One of them, assured of her lover's devotion, said to Samuel while they were setting about the drafting of a letter, "I cannot tell you what to write; but"—and Samuel remembered that her heart was on her lips—"you cannot write too kindly." Yet scarcely had she said this when she was overcome with the fear that "she should incur slight for her kindness." Here is coquetry and

calculation not unbecoming a Pamela. Here is strange occupation indeed for a young boy of thirteen. And here are the writings—lost forever—which “facilitated to him” the use of a novelist’s pen.

Following his own and his parents’ desire, Samuel was planning to prepare for the ministry, but when his father suffered financial losses and could no longer look forward to giving him the necessary university training, the boy had to be put to a trade. The choice left to him, he chose that of printer that he might gratify his thirst for reading. Some reading he undoubtedly did while serving his apprenticeship, for he tells us that he “stole from the hours of rest and relaxation” as much time as possible for the improvement of his mind (*Barbauld*, I, xlii). But many hours thus stolen must have been spent in carrying on a voluminous correspondence with a gentleman whom Richardson described as greatly his superior in degree and of ample fortune (*op. cit.*, xlii–xliii). Richardson was convinced that this gentleman was a master of the “epistolary style,” and the gentleman in turn was convinced that Richardson was an exemplary young man, and promised “high things” for him when he was ready to set up in business for himself. Unfortunately he died before fulfilling his promises; and still more unfortunately he secured Richardson’s promise to burn all the letters which had passed between them. After Richardson’s death, his daughters attempted to build up the story of this relationship to romantic proportions (see McKillop, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 108); and they said that Richardson used a part of this gentleman’s story in a letter inserted in the first edition of *Pamela* (III, 391–403), and withdrawn from subsequent editions. For our present purposes,

however, the most significant result of the relationship is the burning of the letters: this is another irreparable loss for one interested in the early manifestations of Richardson’s talent.

During the period between the securing of his freedom in 1715 and the autumn of 1739 when he began each evening to retire to his “little closet” to compose *Pamela*, Richardson attended strictly to building the reputation of his press. All that remain for one interested in the writing which antedates *Pamela* are a few letters printed by Mrs. Barbauld or preserved in the Forster Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum; a letter written to his nephew in 1732 when the lad became an apprentice to his uncle (see below, p. 109); an edition of *Æsop’s Fables* and of Roe’s *Negotiations* (see below, pp. 3, 6); the text of the first edition of the *Familiar Letters*, in whole or in part (see below, p. 34); and perhaps the revised and corrected form of Maclerc’s *Christian’s Magazine*. All these are from the years immediately preceding the publication of his first novel. The ascription to Richardson of one contribution to a periodical during this period is supported by nothing stronger than a casual guess, which gained credence as it was printed and reprinted for a century and a half. The guess was made by John Nichols when he published his edition of Bowyer’s *Anecdotes* in 1782. Supported by this guess, a number of Richardson’s biographers have been responsible for keeping alive the tradition that Richardson wrote the essay in No. 6 of the Duke of Wharton’s *True Briton*, June 21, 1723. Nichols wrote: “It appears by the original edition of *The True Briton* . . . that Mr. Richardson printed no more than *six numbers*; and it seems highly probable that *the sixth* (June 21, 1723) was

written by himself, as it is much in *his* manner" (p. 306). Dobson (p. 12) scouted the idea that Richardson wrote for this periodical; but Mr. Brian Downs (p. 8) kept alive the tradition of the authorship, while providing an erroneous motive for Richardson's having printed no more than six numbers. The essay in No. 6, wrote Mr. Downs, "voiced opinions so directly opposed to the general trend of the paper's propaganda, that it is not surprising to learn of his [Richardson's] immediate supersession in the printing." Mr. McKillop (p. 296) says that the ascription cannot be proved or disproved.

An examination of the contents of the essay will enable us to discount Mr. Downs's theory. The essay, though ironical in a heavy-handed manner, is obviously furthering the cause to which Wharton had dedicated his periodical; and Wharton's biographer attributes the essay to Wharton himself because the writing is so much of a piece with the remainder of the essays (John R. Robinson, *Philip Duke of Wharton*, London, 1896, p. 83). Furthermore, Wharton wrote a note as preface for this essay, expressing the desire to communicate "more of this Correspondent's Letters to the World"; and in No. 23 printed another welcoming note to introduce an article signed by the same initials as those at the end of No. 6, and written in the same vein.

Though Nichols's ascription was accepted as a possibility by the *New and General Biographical Dictionary* in 1784, it was denied in 1786 in an account of Richardson in the *Universal Magazine* (LXXVIII, 18), prepared with the partial assistance of Richardson's family. Here the matter might better have been dropped. Nichols, who did not know Richardson and who was writing sixty years

after the event, made the unsubstantiated assumption that Richardson printed only six numbers of the periodical, and, affecting to recognize the Richardsonian "manner," guessed that he wrote the sixth number. Tradition never rested on flimsier basis. The only thing which kept the tradition alive was the fact that literary critics in the nineteenth century were fascinated by the personal relationship thus established between Richardson and the brilliantly erratic Duke of Wharton, and sought to trace in the profligate duke the prototype of Lovelace. Whatever may be made of this theory, we must remove from the story that portion of it which makes Richardson a contributor to the duke's periodical.

In the sections of my bibliography preceding the descriptions of Richardson's three novels, and in the notes following the descriptions of all books, I have included what seems to me relevant facts concerning his literary career after the publication of *Pamela*. No résumé of these facts seems necessary in this introduction. It might be well to point out, however, that Richardson, unlike the vast majority of novelists, was his own printer, and frequently his own publisher. He was in a position to write books, to print and publish them, and to advertise many of them in newspapers which he printed and in part owned. In many respects the control afforded by these conditions must have proved happy for him, but the fact that he could exercise this control to such an extent has meant that many sources of information are denied the student of his literary career. There are no letters between author and printer. Records of dealings between author and publisher, or between printer and publisher, were in many cases never made because never needed. It is only

in moments of vain delusion that one is led to hope that proof sheets survived such conditions. The bibliographer, seeking for cancellanda to provide the future editor with revised and unrevised states of the text, is constantly disappointed; and rarely, and then only by accident, satisfied. To make matters worse, Richardson died without a son to carry on the business. He reluctantly turned over his prosperous establishment to an incompetent nephew, who soon went into bankruptcy and died, leaving his widow to seek employment as housekeeper at Stationers' Hall. The records of the novelist's business were presumably lost or destroyed when the press was under his nephew's management. It is a constant temptation, however, to believe that they still exist.

Richardson's name has been more or less ambiguously associated with three works published between 1740 and his death in 1761. For reasons which I offer below, I do not believe that we can assume authorship in whole or in part of two of these items. The third, James Maclerc's *Christian's Magazine*, was advertised on a title-page as "revis'd and corrected by Mr. S. Richardson" (McKillop, *op. cit.*, p. 315, where the book is described as a reissue of the original work, dated 1748, with a copy in the Aitken Collection, University of Texas). I give below a transcript of the title-page, and the collation of the B.M. copy:

THE | CHRISTIAN'S MAGAZINE, | OR |
TREASURE. | CONTAINING, A |
CHOICE COLLECTION | OF MANY |
REMARKABLE PASSAGES | UPON SEV-
ERAL | *Important Religious Subjects*, | Taken
out of the | WRITINGS of Some of the Most
EMINENT | MODERN DIVINES: | Tend-
ing to Our CONFIRMATION | Both in the |

BELIEF *and* PRACTICE | OF THE |
TRUE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, |
AGAINST | *Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Pap-*
ists, | And other CORRUPT and LOOSE |
CHRISTIANS. | [rule] | BY | JAMES
MAUCLERC, M.D. | ONE OF THE | Old-
est Members of the Royal COLLEGE of
PHYSICIANS. | [rule] | LONDON: |
Printed for the AUTHOR, | By S. RICH-
ARDSON; And sold at his House in | *Orange-*
street near *Leicester Fields*, and at the Sign of |
Erasmus's Head, in the *Strand*. [Enclosed
within square brackets] Price 5s. [n.d.]
8°.

Collation: A⁸ B—Cc⁸ Dd²; pp. xii + 404.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii];
preface, iii–viii; table of contents, [ix–xii]; text,
1–403; blank page, [404].

The British Museum has dated this copy 1750(?). So little is known of Maclerc that it is difficult to challenge this date; he may have been alive, selling books at his house in 1750, but I am inclined to believe that this copy was published much earlier. The book was entered in Maclerc's name in the Stationers' Register on November 8, 1737 (*MS. Register*, 1710–1746, I, 476); and I suspect that the British Museum copy was published about 1737. The rolls of the College of Physicians record the admission of a French Protestant refugee, Joseph Mauleer (or Maclare) under date of June 8, 1689 (William Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 3 vols., 2nd ed. 1878). Maclare—in all likelihood, James Maclerc—secured his M.D. at Montpellier in 1681. Assuming that he was about twenty-one when this degree was granted, he would be about eighty years old when the book was registered in his name. By 1750 he would be nearly a hundred years old.

Nichols, in his *Literary Anecdotes* (IV, 597) said that Richardson "had a share in" the *Christian's Magazine*, 1748. Mr. McKillop has found a copy of the book, dated 1748 and stating on its title-page that it was revised and corrected by Richardson. He describes this as a "reissue of 1748." Since he does not seem to be using the word "issue" in a technical sense, I think we may assume that the book was originally printed for Maulelrc by Richardson about 1737, and that Maulelrc died between 1737 and 1748, during which period Richardson made some revisions and additions for the edition of 1748. The *London Evening Post* carried advertisements of this book in May, 1749, and again in May, 1751 (May 9-11; May 4-7). No mention is made of Richardson in these advertisements. In 1751 the book was advertised as printed for W. Sandby. Its price had then been reduced to four shillings. Unfortunately I was not aware of the edition of 1748 which Mr. McKillop examined when I was preparing my discussion of the *Christian's Magazine*, and was ready to believe that Nichols's phrase—"had a share in"—meant simply that Richardson owned a share in the copyright of the book which had come from his press.

In Bowyer's *Anecdotes*, Nichols said that Richardson "published, or rather printed, a large single sheet relative to the Married State, intituled, 'The Duties of Wives to Husbands'" (p. 306). Nothing is said of authorship, but C. H. Timperley in his *Encyclopædia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote* repeats Nichol's statement in equivocal language, leaving us in some doubt as to whether or not he wants us to believe that Richardson wrote this work. Consequently Mr. Downs (p. 237) lists it as an "attributed

work." It is so obviously the kind of thing that Richardson might have written that there is constant danger of its being accepted as a "lost work." But when we go behind Timperley to Nichols, we find no evidence for connecting Richardson with the work except as its printer. Though it has not been found, I think I can identify it by a more exact title. A single sheet called the *Matrimonial Mirror* was advertised lavishly in the *Daily Gazetteer* from November 19 to December 18, 1742, while Richardson still held partial control over this newspaper. It was printed for J. Rivington, and sold for four pence. Its professed purpose was to remind all those who had entered into the "Holy State of Wedlock" of their "respective Duties." Since the profits from the sale of such a sheet could not have justified the extravagant advertising, the notices must have been inserted by someone who was at the same time interested in sponsoring the work and in a position to insert advertisements without paying the regular rates. This may have been the work of one of Richardson's friends, or it may possibly have been Richardson's own writing, but until it is discovered and more proof is offered than Timperley's ambiguous statement affords, it should not be ascribed to Richardson.

The rumor that Richardson's hand may be detected in a book called the *Histories of some of the Penitents in the Magdalen-House* (2 vols., 1760) gained slight headway in the eighteenth century. It seems best therefore to point out that Richardson wrote to Lady Bradshaigh, denying that he had any share in writing either the text or the preface for these volumes (*Forster MSS.*, XI, ff. 264, 268).

Inasmuch as we have genuine cause for regret in the loss of the letters which Richard-

son wrote for the young girls of Derbyshire, and the letters which passed between him and the gentleman of high degree, we should record the loss of another letter (or group of letters?), which were written in all likelihood after he became known as a literary figure. In commenting on the ability of poetry to enhance the delight in rural scenes and rural pleasures, Richardson told Miss Highmore in 1750 that he had once written a letter in the character of a "girl mad after arcadian scenery; who teased her mother to death, to let her go from their more charming Greenwich residence, to a country cousin's." After she had arrived in the country, Richardson "made her write to her female friend, raving at the poets, at her disappointments, and begging to be permitted to return before the time allowed her; but denied, till she herself, thought her choice, her punishment." Richardson told Miss Highmore that he did not know what had become of the letter; but, he concluded, "one or two to whom I shewed it, thought it, I remember, whimsical stuff" (*Barbault*, II, 246-247). It is unfortunate indeed to be deprived of a specimen of Richardson's writing in what his friends thought was a whimsical vein.

That those using this bibliography may be better informed on certain issues which I have raised, I append the following references to Mr. McKillop's recent study of the novelist: (the numbers refer to items in this bibliography)

- No. 1. Mr. McKillop presents evidence to show that, relative to size and price the value of the copyright of Richardson's *Æsop* was greater than that of the novels (p. 314).
- No. 5. A passage from the second volume of *Pamela*, headed "A Continuation of the Familiar Letters of Pamela," was published in *Robinson Crusoe's London Daily Evening Post*, September 21, 1742, indicating that this paper had been serializing the novel, in whole or in part (p. 88). [Copy in Harvard]
- No. 41. The size of the third edition of *Grandison* was 2,500 copies (p. 215 n.).
- No. 53. Further evidence for the assumption that the *History of Mrs. Beaumont* was the embryo of another novel is presented (p. 9).
- No. 57. McKillop acutely suggests that the *Letters upon Duelling* were originally drafted for the *Familiar Letters* (p. 22).
- No. 64. Mrs. Haywood seems indisputably to be the author of *Anti-Pamela* (p. 80).
- No. 77. A "slighter performance" than the *Memoirs of the Life of Lady H*—, appeared under the title of "Pamela the Second" in the *Universal Spectator*, April 24, 1742 (p. 68).
- No. 82. A portion of the undiscovered poem, *Pamela Versified*, was published in the *Scots Magazine*, III, 453-454 (p. 70).
- No. 84. Mr. McKillop suggests that Sarah Fielding was the author of the *Remarks on Clarissa* (p. 156).

Mr. McKillop's list of the principal studies of Richardson's life and works makes it unnecessary to provide such apparatus to accompany my bibliography (see his study, pp. 329-333). If the materials here offered prove useful and reliable for the student of Richardson and for the future editor of his works, for those concerned with the printing and publishing of books between 1740 and 1760, and for the bookcollector, the bookseller, and the librarian, I shall feel that my aim has been abundantly realized.

CHRONOLOGY OF PUBLICATIONS

THE following list contains the works of Richardson and those books inspired by the publishing of his novels, arranged in chronological order. After the title of the first edition of each work I have given the author's name if known. The date on the title-page of a book may be assumed to be the same as the date of publication unless otherwise indicated by a date immediately following the title in this list. When I have been unable to date publication of certain books through advertisements, I have grouped them together at the close of the year in which they appeared, or presumably appeared.

All books were published in London, except Irish editions which were published in Dublin, and *Pamela: an Opera*, 1742, which was published at Newcastle. No attempt has been made to include translations or adaptations published outside the British Isles. Titles in brackets are of works not found, but advertised in newspapers.

The numbers preceding items in this list refer to numbers in this bibliography. Works which are discussed in the historical notes but not bibliographically described are referred to by canceled numbers.

Number	Date of Publication	Title
54	1736 Jan.	<i>Verses</i> , in <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> , VI, p. 51, Richardson.
1	1739 Nov. 20	<i>Æsop's Fables</i> , 1st ed., ed. Richardson, 1740.
4	1740 March 29	<i>Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe</i> , 1st ed., ed. Richardson and others.
5	Nov. 6	<i>Pamela</i> , 1st ed., Vols. I, II, Richardson, 1741.
21	1741 Jan. 23	<i>Familiar Letters</i> , 1st ed., Richardson.
5	Jan. 31	<i>Pamela</i> , 1st Irish ed., Vols. I, II.
6	Feb. 14	<i>Pamela</i> , 2nd ed., Vols. I, II.
7	March 12	<i>Pamela</i> , 3rd ed., Vols. I, II.
59	April 4	<i>Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews</i> , 1st ed., 1st issue, Henry Fielding.
61	April 29	<i>Pamela Censured</i> , 1st ed.
8	May 5	<i>Pamela</i> , 4th ed., Vols. I, II.
21	May 9	<i>Familiar Letters</i> , 1st Irish ed.
62	May 28	<i>Pamela's Conduct in High Life</i> , 1st ed. of Vol. I, attrib. John Kelly.
64	June 20	<i>Anti-Pamela</i> , 1st ed., 1st issue.
62	June 23	<i>Pamela's Conduct in High Life</i> , 1st Irish ed. of Vol. I.
66	June 27	<i>True Anti-Pamela</i> , 1st ed., James Parry.
82	July 24	[<i>Pamela Versified</i> , Part No. I, George Bennet].
82	Aug. 18	[<i>Pamela Versified</i> , Part No. II].
62	Sept. 12	<i>Pamela's Conduct in High Life</i> , 1st ed. of Vol. II.
9	Sept. 22	<i>Pamela</i> , 5th ed., Vols. I, II.
63	Oct. 3	<i>Pamela's Conduct in High Life</i> , 2nd ed. of Vol. I (No 2nd ed. of Vol. II).
69	Oct. 15	<i>Pamela in High Life; or, Virtue Rewarded</i> , Part No. I (Parts No. II and III were published later in 1741).
68	Oct. 17	<i>True Anti-Pamela</i> , 2nd ed., 1742.

Number	Date of Publication	Title
5	Oct. 23	<i>Pamela; ou, la Vertu Reçompensée</i> , 1st French ed., Vols. I, II, trans. Prévost (?).
70	Nov. 16	<i>Pamela; or, Virtue Triumphant</i> , 1st ed., James Dance?
71	Nov. 17	<i>Pamela A Comedy</i> , 1st ed., Henry Giffard, 1742.
73	Nov. ?	<i>Pamela A Comedy</i> , pirated by Miller.
74	Nov. ?	<i>Pamela A Comedy</i> , pirated by Hubbard.
75	Nov. 23	<i>Virgin in Eden</i> , 1st ed., 1st issue, Charles Povey.
77	Dec. 4	<i>Memoirs of the Life of Lady H—</i> , 1st ed.?
15	Dec. 7	<i>Pamela</i> , 1st ed., Vols. III, IV, Richardson, 1742.
60		<i>Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews</i> , 1st ed., 2nd issue.
76		<i>Virgin in Eden</i> , 1st ed., 2nd issue.
78		<i>Life of Pamela</i> , 1st ed.
67		<i>True Anti-Pamela</i> , pirated ed.
66		<i>True Anti-Pamela</i> , 1st Irish ed., n.d.
5		<i>Pamela</i> , pirated ed. of Vols. I, II.
10		<i>Pamela</i> , so-called 6th Irish ed., Vol. I.
22	1742 Jan. 19	[<i>Familiar Letters</i> , 2nd ed.]
65	Feb. 3 ?	<i>Anti-Pamela</i> , 1st ed., 2nd issue.
79	Feb. 22	<i>Joseph Andrews</i> , 1st ed., 2 vols., Henry Fielding.
28	May 1	<i>Tour thro' Great Britain</i> , 3rd ed., 4 vols., ed. Richardson (this is the first edition of this work of Daniel Defoe to be edited by Richardson).
10, 17	May 10	<i>Pamela</i> , 6th ed., Vols. I, II; 3rd ed., Vols. III, IV.
79	Aug. ?	<i>Joseph Andrews</i> , 2nd ed.
72	Nov. 16	<i>Pamela A Comedy</i> , 2nd ed.
16		<i>Pamela</i> , 2nd ed., Vols. III, IV (published in 1742 or 1743).
80		<i>Pamela: An Opera</i> , 1st ed., Edge.
81		<i>Lettre sur Pamela</i> , 1st ed., attrib. Abbé Marquet.
15		<i>Pamela</i> , 1st Irish ed., Vols. III, IV.
10		<i>Pamela</i> , so-called 6th Irish ed., 2nd issue (?), Vol. I.
79	1743 March 24	<i>Joseph Andrews</i> , 3rd ed.
18		<i>Pamela</i> , 4th ed., Vols. III, IV (a second issue of 2nd ed.), 1742.
82		<i>Pamela; or, the Fair Impostor</i> , 1st Irish ed.
82	1744 Jan. 5	<i>Pamela; or, the Fair Impostor</i> , 1st English ed.
23	1746 May 10 ?	<i>Familiar Letters</i> , 3rd ed.
12	Oct. 18	[<i>Pamela</i> , 6th ed., in 12°, Vols. I, II (probably the second issue of the 5th ed., Vols. I, II).]
2	1747 ?	[<i>Æsop's Fables</i> , 2nd ed.]
32	Dec. 1	<i>Clarissa</i> , 1st ed., Vols. I, II, Richardson.
32	1748 April 28	<i>Clarissa</i> , 1st ed., Vols. III, IV.
29	July 7	<i>Tour thro' Great Britain</i> , 4th ed.
79	Nov. 5	<i>Joseph Andrews</i> , 4th ed., 1749.
20	Nov. 12	<i>Geographia Magnæ Britanniae</i> (maps for Defoe's <i>Tour</i>), 1st ed.
32	Dec. 6	<i>Clarissa</i> , 1st ed., Vols. V–VII.
84	1749 Jan. 7	<i>Remarks on Clarissa</i> , 1st ed.
22	June 8	[<i>Answer to the Letter of a Very Reverend and Worthy Gentleman</i>].
33	June 15	<i>Clarissa</i> , 2nd ed., Vols. I–IV (only four volumes published).

Number	Date of Publication	Title
32	June 15	[<i>Contents to Clarissa</i>].
55	Aug.	"Answer to Haller's Criticism of <i>Clarissa</i> ," in <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> , XIX, 347-349, Richardson.
38	1750 July ?	<i>Meditations of Clarissa</i> (printed for private circulation), 1st ed., Richardson.
24	Dec. 29	<i>Familiar Letters</i> , 4th ed.
56	1751 Feb. 19	<i>Rambler</i> , No. 97, Richardson.
34	April 20	<i>Clarissa</i> , 3rd ed., 8 vols.
35	April 20	<i>Clarissa</i> , 4th ed., 7 vols., 8°.
37	April 20	<i>Letters and Passages Restored to Clarissa</i> , 1st ed., Richardson.
56		<i>Rambler</i> , 1st collected ed., 2 vols. (for subsequent editions, see no. 56).
79		<i>Joseph Andrews</i> , 5th ed.
25	1752 July 30	<i>Familiar Letters</i> , 5th ed., 1st issue.
26		<i>Familiar Letters</i> , 5th ed., 2nd issue.
44	1753 Sept. 14	<i>Case of Samuel Richardson</i> , 1st ed., Richardson.
	Oct. 18	<i>Case of Samuel Richardson against the Dublin Pirates</i> , 1st Irish ed., attrib. George Faulkner, see p. 66.
	Nov. 3	Faulkner's <i>Dublin Journal</i> , containing the defense of his actions in the piracy of <i>Grandison</i> , see p. 66.
39	Nov. 13	<i>Grandison</i> , 1st ed., Vols. I-IV, 12°, Richardson, 1754.
40	Nov. 13	<i>Grandison</i> , 2nd ed., Vols. I-IV, 8°, 1754.
	Nov. 13 ?	<i>Grandison</i> , 1st Irish ed., pirated, Vols. I-VI, see pp. 66-68.
39	Dec. 11	<i>Grandison</i> , 1st ed., Vols. V, VI, 12°, 1754.
40	Dec. 11	<i>Grandison</i> , 2nd ed., Vol. V, 8°, 1754.
3	Dec. 18	<i>Æsop's Fables</i> , "new edition," (3rd?), n.d.
30		<i>Tour thro' Great Britain</i> , 5th ed.
45	1754 Feb. 1	<i>Address to the Public</i> , 1st ed., Richardson.
85	Feb. 21	<i>Critical Remarks on Sir Charles Grandison</i> , 1st ed.
39	March 14	<i>Grandison</i> , 1st ed., Vol. VII, 12°.
40	March 14	<i>Grandison</i> , 2nd ed., Vol. VI, 8°.
41	March 19	<i>Grandison</i> , 3rd ed., Vols. I-VII, 12°.
46	April 10	<i>Copy of a Letter to a Lady; Answer to a Letter from a Friend</i> , 1st ed., Richardson.
86	April 16	<i>Candid Examination of Sir Charles Grandison</i> , 1st ed., attrib. Francis Plummer.
		<i>Grandison</i> , 1st Irish ed., pirated, Vol. VII, see p. 69.
13, 19		<i>Pamela</i> , 7th ed., Vols. I, II; 5th ed., Vols. III, IV (a third issue of the 2nd ed., Vols. III, IV).
47	1755 March 6	<i>Collection of Sentiments</i> , 1st ed., Richardson.
87	March 29	[<i>Candid Examination of Sir Charles Grandison</i> , 2nd ed.]
27	July 1	<i>Familiar Letters</i> , 6th ed.
88		<i>Candid Examination of Sir Charles Grandison</i> , 3rd ed.
89	1756 May 4	<i>Paths of Virtue Delineated</i> , 1st ed.
42		<i>Grandison</i> , 4th ed., of Vol. VII only.
83		<i>Pamela</i> , trans. from Carlo Goldoni's <i>Pamela</i> , 1st English ed.
48	1759 May 12	<i>Conjectures on Original Composition</i> , 1st ed., Edward Young and Richardson.

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date of Publication</i>	<i>Title</i>
49	June 19	<i>Conjectures on Original Composition</i> , 2nd ed.
36		<i>Clarissa</i> , 4th ed., 8 vols., 12°.
50	1760 April 28	<i>Life and Heroic Actions of Balbe Berton</i> , trans. from Marguerite de Lusan's <i>Vie de Balbe-Berton</i> , 1st English ed., 2 vols., with revisions by Richardson.
90	June 19	<i>Sir Charles Grandison Spiritualized</i> , 1st ed.
14, 20	1761 Oct. 28	<i>Pamela</i> , 8th ed., Vols. I, II; so-called 8th ed., Vols. III, IV.
31	Nov. 9	<i>Tour thro' Great Britain</i> , 6th ed. (Vols. I, III, dated 1762).
51	Nov. 28 ?	<i>Life and Heroic Actions of Balbe Berton</i> , 1st ed., 2nd issue.
2		[<i>Æsop's Fables</i> , 4th ed. ?]
42	1762 Feb. 1	<i>Grandison</i> , 4th ed., Vol. I, with remaining volumes issued monthly.
43		<i>Grandison</i> , 4th ed., pirated, 7 vols.
27	1764 April 18	<i>Familiar Letters</i> , 7th ed., n.d.
89		<i>Paths of Virtue Delineated</i> , 2nd ed.
36		<i>Clarissa</i> , 5th ed., 8 vols.
57	1765 March	"Six Letters upon Duelling" in <i>Candid Review</i> , I, 227-231, Richardson.
42		<i>Grandison</i> , 5th ed., pirated (a second issue of 4th ed., pirated).
42	1766	<i>Grandison</i> , 5th ed., 7 vols.
14	1767	<i>Pamela</i> , Vol. I of a so-called 8th ed., published with Vols. II-IV, 9th ed.
52	1771 Jan. 25	<i>History of Sir William Harrington</i> , 1st ed., 4 vols., Anna Meades, revised by Richardson.
52	1772	<i>History of Sir William Harrington</i> , 2nd ed.
11		<i>Pamela</i> , 6th ed., 2nd issue, Vols. I, II; 3rd ed., 2nd issue, Vols. III, IV.
53	1804	"History of Mrs. Beaumont" in Anna Barbauld's <i>Correspondence of Samuel Richardson</i> , 6 vols., London, V, 301-348, Richardson.
58		"Letter from an Uncle to his Nephew" in the <i>Imperial Review</i> , II, 609-616, Richardson.

A NOTE

TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS

INASMUCH as bibliography, properly considered, is a science and not an art, I have followed a plan in the following descriptions of books which makes no pretensions to originality, and which owes its better features to the work of many bibliographers. Acknowledgement of indebtedness to individuals does not seem necessary, nor would it prove possible; but I cannot forbear expressing my special gratitude for the work of Geoffrey Keynes, Robert W. Chapman, Ronald B. McKerrow, and W. W. Greg. Mr. Greg's article in *The Library* (4th S. XIV, 365-382), entitled "A Formulary of Collation," has provided the essential method employed throughout this book.

It is obvious, however, that the particular problems which arise in eighteenth-century bibliography are sometimes those which do not confront the bibliographer of sixteenth-century books; and a bibliography of the novelist and printer, Samuel Richardson, cannot follow with exactitude the plan of a bibliography of the novelist, Trollope. Furthermore, the complete absence of any descriptive bibliographical material for Richardson's works and for *Richardsoniana* has forced me to proceed at times with a degree of tentativeness which I can only hope will be unnecessary in later considerations of the same problems. But these factors I have tried to reckon with only in the minor features of my plan, where I have had to look to my own experiences for what sanction they may have. It is obviously true, moreover, that problems

may lurk where I have not been able to explore; and future investigation may simplify what has seemed to me complex. The data given may later prove generous to the point of prolixity, or sketchy to the point of inadequacy; but I have tried to place in the hands of other scholars a body of facts on which may be built the more nearly perfect version of this work.

The books described in the first part of this work are those written in whole or in part, or those edited or revised, by Richardson. The books in the latter part were called into being in whole or in part by the publication of his novels. With only a few regrettable omissions, the description of all editions of Richardson's works for whose state he was, or can be suspected to have been responsible, is included. To list editions published in the century and a half after his death is to enter the field of literary history, where, fascinating as the research sometimes proves, I have elected not to stray.

The order of the descriptions in both parts is determined by the date of publication of the first edition of the work; but following the description of the first edition are descriptions of later editions which were published in England during the lifetime of the author. In the discussion of the work, following the bibliographical data, I have briefly identified certain Irish editions and the translations published in England. I have not attempted to trace the publication of Richardson on the Continent, or in America. Below the

description of the last edition of Richardson's work to appear in his lifetime, I have included when possible the date of the first posthumous edition. Brief comments on the state of the text have been provided.

The data on page size seem to me relatively unimportant in eighteenth-century bibliography of this period, and serve in too many cases as a means to increase disproportionately the value of a copy owned or offered for sale. I have given the type page measurements, however, to accompany the reduced reproductions of the title-pages; and have supplied the measurements for the pages of important uncut copies.

Under the heading, *Publication*, I have given the date of publication, the advertised price, and the information contained in the advertisements concerning the binding. Variations in bindings, determined by contemporary owners, are too numerous and unimportant to record. Most of the books were originally or eventually bound in calf, though some were issued in boards ("half-bindings"), or simply "stitched." Pamphlets selling for eighteen pence or less seem to have been issued "stabbed," without wrappers. Under the section concerning publication, I have indicated registry at Stationers' Hall, if the book were so protected. In some cases, where the information seems reliable, I have given the size of the edition. I have taken every precaution to see that the date of publication as given is the date of the first public announcement of the work; and when I have not been reasonably sure that this was the case, I have so indicated. The practice in advertisements of repeating for many months, perhaps years, the phrase "This day is published," increases the hazard in attempting to determine the exact day of a book's appearance.

The following practice has been followed in the collations:

1. The symbol π is used for preliminary unsigned leaves.
2. The index figure 1 is not used; and index figures are always given in even numbers. For instance, I have used $A^8(-A1)$, rather than A^7 . If the disposition of $A1$ can be determined, I have indicated this fact, and supplied the evidence in my note to the descriptions. If its disposition can be reasonably assumed, I have frequently made the assumption with a query supplied. For example, the collation $A^8(-A1) B-N^{12} O1 (=A1)$, means that the first leaf of A was used for printing the single leaf of O . If the collation reads $A^8(-A1) B-N^{12} O1 (=A1?)$, I am merely making the reasonable assumption that $A1$ was so used.
3. If the collation begins $\pi1 [A]1$, these leaves are not conjugate; but the symbols π^2 or $[A]^2$ or A^2 refer to conjugate leaves. Unsigned signatures are bracketed.
4. Cancels are indicated as follows: $B^{12}(\pm B5)$. This indicates that $B5$ has been removed and a cancellans substituted. If I have any information as to where the cancellans was printed, I indicate it in the following manner: $B^{12}(\pm B5 = A1)$, which means that the first leaf of A was used for printing the cancellans. Mr. Chapman's terms, cancellans and cancellandum, have been used throughout. He agrees with me that the plural, cancellantia, is somewhat cumbersome, but the terminology seems too valuable to discard on this account.
5. If a leaf has been inserted in the midst of a signature, that fact is indicated in the following manner: $A^4(A1 + 1)$, which means that an extra leaf has been inserted in a gathering of four leaves, and that the inserted leaf follows $A1$.
6. If alphabets are repeated in whole or in part as signature marks, superior figures are used *before* the first signatures in these alphabets. For example, $^1A-Z^{12}$, $^2A-K^{12}$, means that

the alphabet has been repeated from A through K, and not doubled as one might expect.

Following the collation by signatures, I have given the number of pages rather than the number of leaves, since all books described are paged. When an entire series of page numbers is omitted, I have indicated this omission by the use of brackets. For example, pp. [viii] + 306 means that the first eight pages are without pagination. If, on the other hand, pages iv–viii had been paged, even though pages i–iii had not been paged, I should have given the number of pages as pp. viii + 306. Irregularities within a series of

page numbers have been indicated under contents, or in the note following the collation.

8. Leaves used for illustrations are indicated immediately following the collation by signatures and by pagination.
9. In describing the changes in title-pages between several volumes of one work, I have not indicated the obvious fact that an appropriate change has been made in the number of the volume.
10. All periodicals may be assumed to have been published in London, unless the title of the periodical obviously indicates publication outside of London: *e.g.* the *Dublin Journal*.

ABBREVIATIONS

MANUSCRIPTS

ALL references to material in manuscript have been given in sufficient fullness in the text, with the exception of the Forster Manuscripts described below. The abbreviation *B.M.* has been used to locate manuscripts in the British Museum.

The Forster MSS. The Forster Manuscripts, containing letters to and from Samuel Richardson, are in six folio volumes in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. They are a part of the gift of John Forster, bequeathed to the museum at his death in 1876.

The volumes are numbered from XI through XVI. All volumes except XI are divided into two or more parts, with the folio numbering beginning with the first letter of each volume, or part of volume. My references are to the volume, the part of the volume, and the number of the folio on which the letter cited begins. Where the writer or recipient of a letter, or its exact date, seems significant, I have included it.

The following table will make clear in many cases the name of the person with whom Richardson is corresponding. A few letters are placed haphazard in the six volumes, but in general letters to and from a certain person, or concerning a given subject, are grouped together.

- | | |
|------------|--|
| Vol. XI. | Correspondence with Lady Bradshaigh, wife of Sir Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh, Lancashire. |
| Vol. XII, | 1. With Thomas Edwards of Turrick, Buckinghamshire.
2. With Mrs. Chapone, wife of the Rev. John Chapone, and mother-in-law of Hester Chapone, the blue-stockings. |
| Vol. XIII, | 1. With Mrs. Chapone (continued from Vol. XII).
2, 3. With Aaron Hill, poet and dramatist. |
| Vol. XIV, | 1. With Urania Johnson, daughter of Aaron Hill.
2. With Mrs. John Scudamore, born Sarah Wescomb, of Enfield, Middlesex, and a few others.
3. With Sarah Wescomb before her marriage.
4. With Eusebius Sylvester of Warwick. |
| Vol. XV, | 1. With Sylvester (continued from Vol. XIV).
2. Correspondence concerning <i>Clarissa</i> .
3. Correspondence concerning <i>Clarissa</i> and <i>Grandison</i> .
4. Correspondence concerning <i>Grandison</i> . |
| Vol. XVI, | 1. Correspondence concerning <i>Pamela</i> .
2. Miscellaneous, chiefly poetry. |

PRINTED BOOKS

THE following abbreviations have been used:

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>Barbault:</i> | Anna Lætitia Barbault, <i>The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson</i> , 6 vols., London, 1804 |
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- Bowyer, *Anecdotes*:** *Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer*, collected and published by John Nichols, London, 1782
- Dobson:** Austin Dobson, *Samuel Richardson*, London, 1902
- Dottin:** Paul Dottin, *Samuel Richardson Imprimeur de Londres*, Paris, 1931
- Downs:** Brian W. Downs, *Richardson*, London, 1928
- Plomer's *Dictionary*:** H. R. Plomer, G. H. Bushnell, and E. R. McC. Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775*, Printed for the Bibliographical Society at Oxford University Press, 1932 (For 1930)
- Thomson:** Clara Linklater Thomson, *Samuel Richardson*, London, 1900

LOCATION OF COPIES

THE following abbreviated references have been used in locating certain copies (other references to the location of copies are given in sufficient fullness when they occur):

- | | |
|----------|---|
| B.M. | The British Museum. |
| Bodleian | Bodleian Library, Oxford University. |
| Brown | Library of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. |
| Columbia | Library of Columbia University, New York City. |
| Harvard | Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts. |
| Lowell | The Lowell Collection, Harvard. |
| Morgan | Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City. |
| Sale | Library of the author, Cornell University. |
| Singer | The Singer Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library. |
| Tinker | Library of Chauncey B. Tinker, Yale University. |
| Trent | The Trent Collection, Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts. |
| Troxell | Library of Gilbert M. Troxell, Yale University. |
| Widener | The Widener Collection, Harvard. |
| Yale | Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut. |

PART I

WORKS OF SAMUEL RICHARDSON

NOVELS EDITED WORKS PAMPHLETS

BOOKS WRITTEN IN COLLABORATION

LISTED IN THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, WITH DESCRIPTIONS OF ALL EDITIONS CONTEMPORARY WITH THE AUTHOR

1. *ÆSOP'S FABLES*, ed. Richardson.

First Edition, 1740 [pub. 1739], 12°.


Title-page: Reproduced. Engraving measures 15.8 × 8.6 cm.

Collation: π1 A¹² a⁹ B-I¹²; pp. [ii] + xxxvi + 192. (25 leaves of engraved illustrations throughout book).

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, i-xiv; life of Æsop, xv-xxxiv; index, xxxiv-[xxxvi]; text, [1]-192.

Illustrations: The first leaf, unnumbered and illustrating the life of Æsop, faces p. xv; the remaining twenty-four leaves, numbered I-XXIV and each illustrating ten fables, face pp. 1, 8, 18, 24, 33, 41, 49, 57, 65, 72, 80, 87, 94, 102, 109, 117, 126, 134, 142, 149, 157, 165, 174, 183. These engravings are not signed. They are probably the work of J. Clark, whose name appears below the illustration on the title-page.

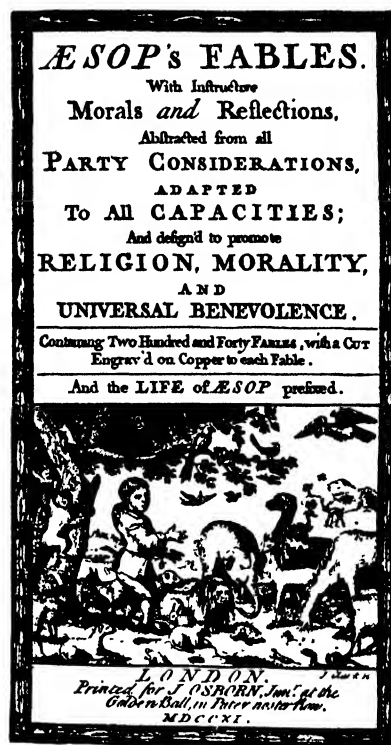
Note: The signature marks for "a" are enclosed within square brackets. The index, beginning at the middle of p. xxxiv, is continued on two unnumbered pages. It was probably placed in this position when Richardson discovered that the life of Æsop would not require the full twelve pages of signature "a."

 *Publication*: November 20, 1739; price, 2s. 6d. bound (*Daily Advertiser*).

RICHARDSON edited this book and wrote the preface and the moral reflections following each fable. "I was requested to revise the numerous Editions of Æsop's Fables in English, and to give the Public one I would commend for Children," he wrote in 1753 (*London Mercury*, VII, 383). The request in all likelihood came from John Osborn, Jr., who published the book, and who, with Charles Rivington, was indirectly responsible for the writing of *Pamela*. Though asked to revise the "numerous editions" of the fables, Richardson says in his preface that only two were found worthy of any consideration—that of Sir Roger L'Estrange (first edition, 1692), and that of Samuel Croxall (first edition, 1722). Richardson finally decided to use L'Estrange's edition as the basis of his text, at times merely abridging L'Estrange's reflections, at times deriving new morals and adding new reflections to avoid political bias, and at times omitting fables entirely as not general enough in their interest, or serious enough in their purpose. He explains his reasons for ignoring Croxall's edition, and finds Croxall as biased politically in one direction as was L'Estrange in the other. As a matter of fact, Croxall's was the rival which his edition had to replace, inasmuch as Croxall, too, had designed his work for children's use.

Both in content and in price, Richardson's edition was prepared with an eye for its use in the education of the young. Advertisements recommended it for schools, private families, and as a "very proper New-Year's Gift to the Youth of both Sexes" (*Daily Advertiser*, December 26, 1739). The phrase—"the youth of both sexes"—reappeared on the title-page of *Pamela*, published a year later.

The identity of Osborn, the bookseller, is important because of his con-



nection with the *Familiar Letters* and *Pamela*. Osborn's father was located at the Golden Ball in Paternoster Row until his death in 1739, when his son began to carry on the business under the same sign. Plomer in his *Dictionary*, 1726-1775, omits mention of the son; and the *D.N.B.* confuses John Osborn with Thomas Osborne. For a short period the younger Osborn retained the "jr." after his name. It so appears in this edition of *Æsop*, and in Thomas Roe's *Negotiations*, intended for publication in 1739 but not published until 1740 (see no. 4). The "jr." is omitted in the imprint of *Pamela*, published in November, 1740.

The first edition of this book, and subsequent editions published during Richardson's lifetime, omitted the editor's name from the title-page. But the advertisements for the second edition proclaimed the book as "by S. Richardson" (e.g. in the *St. James Evening Post*, February 28-March 2, 1749). A curious attempt was made for a time to attract attention to the work by advertising it as the edition of *Æsop* quoted in *Pamela* (*General Evening Post*, August 13-15, 1747). In 1761, the year of Richardson's death, it was still considered one of the standard editions of the fables. In that year William Shenstone wrote in reference to Robert Dodsley's proposed edition that "the two rivals which he has to dread are, the editions of Richardson and of Croxall" (*Works*, 2nd ed. 1769, III, 320). Shenstone included in this letter a criticism of Richardson's edition: "Richardson's *Improvement of L'Estrange* would be a better collection, both for the *Fables* and the *moral Reflections*, had he not admitted, through an extravagant and mistaken love of drollery, that vulgarity of phrase which in many places is not *common English*."

The illustration on the title-page is a modified copy of one which appeared in L'Estrange's edition. Little is known of the work of the engraver, J. Clark. He seems to have been the proprietor of a print shop, at one time located in Castle Yard, Holborn; and to have been the employee of various booksellers and publishers (see the *B.M. Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits*, and Giles Jacob's *Historical Account of the Lives and Writings of our most considerable English Poets*, 1720, pp. 23, 179).

A copy of the first edition of Richardson's *Æsop* is in the Bodleian.

2. *ÆSOP'S FABLES*.

Second Edition, 1747 (?), 12°.

I have not seen a copy of Richardson's *Æsop* which can be identified as the second edition. Booksellers' advertisements supply the evidence for its existence.

In 1747 Richardson used the last leaf of a volume of *Clarissa* for a booksellers' advertisement of the "second edition" of the fables (1st ed. II, 310; dated 1748 but published December 1, 1747). In spite of this notice, the advertisements of the book in the newspapers gave no indication that it had passed into a second edition until March, 1749. In this month the *St. James Evening Post* carried an announcement of the second edition, printed for J. Osborn and selling for 2s. 6d., bound (February 28-March 2). We might assume that the "new edition" described below was the second edition, were it not for the fact that Osborn's name appears alone in the advertise-

ments for the second edition, while his name is omitted and the names of a group of booksellers substituted in the imprint of the "new edition" and in the advertising for it in the newspapers. The "new edition" gives no indication on its title-page of the number of the edition, nor is there a date in the imprint.

In reckoning with this meagre data, we might hypothecate the existence of a second edition, with its title-page printed from the same engraved plate as that used for the first edition, but with a change in the date.

The only occasions to my knowledge on which Richardson's name was publicly associated with the fables were in the newspaper advertisements for the second edition. The book was advertised as "by S. Richardson."

3. ÆSOP'S FABLES.

"New Edition" (Third?), n.d. [pub. 1753], 12° in half-sheets.


Title-page: Reproduced. The same copper-plate was used for both this edition and the first edition. The plate was retouched however, and changes were made in the imprint following the word "Printed."

Collation: π1 A^a b-c⁶ B-R⁶; pp. [ii] + xxxvi + 192. (25 leaves of engraved illustrations throughout book).

Contents: As in first edition, but with errata note on p. xiv.

Illustrations: As in first edition, but with the unnumbered leaf, illustrating the life of Æsop, bound to face the title.

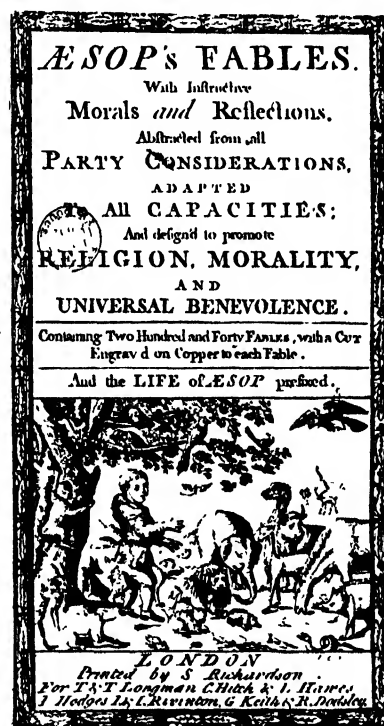
Note: The signature marks for b and c are enclosed within square brackets. In the Bodleian copy (rebound) the title-page is so bound that its recto is blank and its verso carries the title. The unnumbered leaf of illustrations is then bound to face the title. I think it likely that this represents the work of a later binder.

 *Publication:* Advertised as a "new edition," December 18, 1753; price, 2s. 6d. bound (*Public Advertiser*).

RICHARDSON'S name as editor does not appear in the book or in the advertisement for this new edition, but below the advertisement it is stated that the fifth edition of the *Familiar Letters*, "by the same Author" as the *Fables*, may be purchased from the same group of booksellers.

In 1757 a "new and beautiful" edition of Æsop was issued to compete with Richardson's. It was likewise published anonymously, and its title frankly imitated his—*Æsop's Fables, with instructive Morals, Adapted to the Capacities of Children . . . To which is prefixed, The Life of Æsop* (*London Evening Post*, May 24-26, 1757). Charles Draper brought out an edition for the use of schools in 1760, and Dodsley published his edition, printed by Baskerville, in February, 1761 (*London Chronicle*, June 3-5, 1760; February 17-19, 1761).

With these rivals in the field, a group of booksellers advertised Richardson's edition several months after his death as "by the late Mr. Samuel Richardson, Author of the Histories of Pamela, Clarissa, and Grandison,"



Douce. Add. 196.

obviously attempting to trade upon Richardson's reputation as a novelist in furthering the sale of the work (*Public Advertiser*, October 27, 1761; *London Chronicle*, October 31–November 3, 1761). I have found no copy with the names of this particular group of booksellers in the imprint—C. Hitch and L. Hawes, J. Rivington, R. Baldwin, J. Richardson, T. Longman, G. Keith, T. Caslon, S. Crowder and Co., B. Law and Co. and R. Withy. This may have been a reissue of the "new edition" of 1753. In any case, I believe the edition of 1753 to be the last that might have undergone any revision at the hands of Richardson.

The first posthumously published edition which I have examined has no date on the title-page. The plate for the title was reengraved for this edition. The new plate was copied from an old title-page (or a proof of the old plate), since the figures appear in reverse order. The name of the editor appears on this new plate. The imprint contains the following names of booksellers: J. Rivington, R. Baldwin, L. Hawes, W. Clarke, R. Collins, T. Caslon, S. Crowder, T. Longman, B. Law, R. Withy, J. Dodsley, G. Keith, G. Robinson, J. Roberts, and T. Cadell. From the facts concerning these men as given in Plomer's *Dictionary*, I think we may assume that this edition was published between 1770–1775.

Another edition without date has a title printed from the same plate described above, with two changes in the imprint: W. Nicol for R. Withy; and W. Stuart for J. Roberts. Inasmuch as Roberts died about 1776, we have at least a *terminus a quo* for this edition. It was reissued somewhat later, with an imprint on a slip of paper, pasted over the original imprint. The date of this second issue must have been 1784 or later, since the pasted slip contains the name of a firm which went into partnership in that year—the firm of G.G.J. and J. Robinson. The copy in the Harvard Library of this second issue is dated c. 1790.

THE
NEGOTIATIONS
OF
Sir THOMAS ROE,
IN HIS
Embassy to the OTTOMAN PORTE,
FROM THE
YEAR 1621 to 1628 Inclusive:

CONTAINING
A great Variety of curious and important MATTERS,
relating not only to the Affairs of the TURKISH EMPIRE, but also
to those of the OTHER STATES of EUROPE, in that Period:
His Correspondence with the most Illustrious Persons, for Dignity or
Character; as with the Queen of SWEDEN, BETWEEN OLAVUS Prince of
Transylvania, and other Persons of different Nations, &c.
And many useful and instructive Particulars, as well in relation to
TRADE and COMMERCE, as to Subjects of LITERATURE; as
different Manners, Customs, Religions, and other Antiquities.



Now first published from the ORIGINAL.

LONDON:
Printed by Samuel Richardson,

At the Request of the SOCIETY for the ENCOURAGEMENT of LITERATURE:
And sold by G. STURMAN, in Great St. Martin's, in St. Paul's Church-yard;
F. VAUGHAN, in the Strand; J. BARNARD, in New Bond-street; S. BARNES, in St. James's
Court-Garden; and J. OUSELEY, Jun. in Pall-mall New; Booksellers to the Society: And
(on Bookbinder's only) at the Stationer's Head in St. Martin's-Lane. M.DCC.LX.

4. *THE NEGOTIATIONS OF SIR THOMAS ROE*, ed. Richardson, Thomas Carte, and others.

First Edition, 1740, fol.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 30.9 × 16.1 cm. The reproduction represents probably the first state of the title-page. Many title-pages have the following line added below the imprint: "[Price Twenty-seven Shillings in Sheets.]" See note.

Collation: ¹[a]² b–d² e1, ²a–q² A–gZ²; pp. xviii + lxiv + 828. (1 leaf for engraved frontispiece in many copies. See note).

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; dedication to the King, signed "Samuel Richardson," iii–iv; preface, v–xviii; index, [i]–lxii; tables, [lxiii–lxiv]; text, 1–828; errata notes, pp. lxii and 828.

Illustrations: The engraved frontispiece, appearing in many copies, is by George Vertue after Michael Mierevelt's portrait of Roe. The portrait was then in the possession of the Hon. Wills Hills [1718–1793], who later became Marquess of Downshire. The engraving is dated 1741; it measures 31.2 × 19 cm.

The vignette on the title-page was also engraved by Vertue after a drawing by William Kent [1684–1748].

Note: In distinguishing between the first and second state of the title-page, I have relied on information concerning the book's printing and publication (*B.M. Add. MSS.*, 6185, *passim*), and upon the physical condition of the title-pages, with and without the added line. Richardson printed the book for the Society for the Encouragement of Learning. This society found considerable difficulty in reaching an agreement with its booksellers concerning the sharing of the profits; and Richardson had the book printed and ready for publication months before the society had solved its publishing problems. The book's price was not agreed upon until a decision was reached with the booksellers; but the price, once determined, was not changed. In consequence I think it likely that the price was added to, rather than removed from the title-page.


Furthermore, both states of the title-page were printed from the same type page, and defects in certain letters are more noticeable on those title-pages carrying the extra line. The vignette, which appears carefully centered on the title-page reproduced, is printed off center on those title-pages with the line added. It is difficult to account for this slipping of the vignette, but it might have occurred if the type page had remained set up for a long period and been moved about in the shop.

These pieces of evidence, though uncertain guides if considered individually, seem reliable when collectively assayed.

I have not been able to determine when it was decided to provide a frontispiece for the book, but the fact that the frontispiece is dated 1741 suggests that the decision was reached after first publication, March, 1740. The B.M. has a copy of this book with the title-page in the first state, described as "lacking frontispiece." This may well have been a copy bought and bound before the frontispiece was ready.

The signature marks in ²a–q are enclosed within square brackets. Richardson used a double and triple alphabet in signing the leaves of the text, and then adopted the signature marks "4A," "5A," etc. "Vol. I" precedes all signature marks, because additional volumes were contemplated, though not printed.

A copy in the New York Public Library has pp. 458–459 blank, and 5Q1 unsigned.

 *Publication:* March 29, 1740; price, 27s. in sheets (*Daily Advertiser*). Bound copies were advertised some years later for £1. 11. 6 (*Clarissa*, 3rd ed. 1751, VIII, 400). The size of the edition was 750 copies (*B.M. Add. MSS.*, 6185, p. 69).

RICHARDSON was the owner of the manuscripts of Sir Thomas Roe, first published in this work. In preparing the material for the press, Richardson made the index and tables; and, with some assistance from John Ward, Professor of Rhetoric, Gresham College, London, he wrote the dedication and preface (*B.M. Add. MSS.*, 6211, f. 53). He printed the book, and finally served as undisclosed publisher.

In October, 1730—ten years before publication—proposals for the printing of this work, including a specimen of a few of the letters, were distributed by Richardson, with the assistance of a large group of London and provincial booksellers (*Monthly Chronicle*, III, 207). It was apparently planned to issue the book through a conger, but the scheme was abandoned, probably for lack of sufficient subscriptions. In March, 1737, Richardson then offered Roe's manuscripts to the newly-formed Society for the Encouragement of Learning, an organization whose primary function was the subsidizing of scholarly publications. When submitting the manuscripts, he offered to bear a portion of the cost of publication (*B.M. Add. MSS.*, 6190, f. 20). He wrote the society that "as the Work, if approv'd, must necessarily be expensive, and take up some time in Printing; and as your Honourable Society may possibly in the Interim have other Works in View, which, tho' worthy of Your Encouragement, might be obstructed by so large an Undertaking, I am very willing to bear any Part of the Expenche that shall be thought proper."

From manuscript memoirs of the society, we may learn the story of the book's publication (*B.M. Add. MSS.*, 6185, *passim*). Richardson's manuscripts were accepted at the meeting of the society in April, 1737, and the work was approved as the first to be issued under its patronage. A sum not to exceed £300 was appropriated for expenses. Thomas Carte, the historian, with the assistance of a Dr. Anderson (probably James Anderson, minister of the Scots Church, Westminster) was instructed to edit Roe's papers.

The work at the press proceeded slowly. Beginning in October, 1737, Richardson had printed 180 sheets by February, 1739, and completed the 207 sheets of the text by April. He had expected that Carte or Anderson would prepare the preface, but in May the society assigned this task to him, and requested him also to make a table of contents (*B.M. Sloane MSS.*, 4317, f. 172). The preparation of this table, eventually to require sixty-four closely printed folio pages, occupied Richardson during the summer of 1739. In the autumn he sent a copy to Aaron Hill, who wrote in enthusiastic praise of it: "It is such a Part of his [Roe's] Work, as a Chymical Quintessence is of a Vegetable,—It increases the Virtue by diminishing the Bulk." (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 2, f. 23).

The inability of the society to reach an agreement with its booksellers delayed the publication until March, 1740. Seven hundred and fifty copies were printed. Apparently some difficulty was experienced in disposing of the edition, for Richardson finally decided to accept all charges himself, to reimburse the society for any expenses which it had incurred, and to take sole charge of the copies remaining unsold. Richardson owned additional manuscripts sufficient to require three or four more volumes, and he stipulated that the society pay all expenses for the second volume when he assumed the responsibility for the first. But by the time the first volume was published Carte had gone abroad, and Richardson did not feel qualified to prepare the remaining manuscripts for the press without his assistance. When Carte returned, he was engaged in writing his *History of England*; and the society itself disbanded in 1749 before a second volume of Roe could be undertaken.

The present location of the unpublished manuscripts is uncertain. Some of them—perhaps all—are in the Public Record Office. The *Letters from George Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe*, which were originally part of

Richardson's collection, were found in the public records and published by the Camden Society in 1860, edited by John Maclean. In his preface, Maclean said that the whole of Richardson's collection could not be found, but he thought it possible that the method of indexing manuscripts of this nature might have resulted in separating the collection under various heads. Carte presumably arranged and marked the items in the collection when he was preparing the first volume, so that the manuscripts should be identifiable if found.

What profit Richardson made from the first volume is a matter of conjecture. The edition of 750 copies was still being advertised in 1751, eleven years after first publication (*Clarissa*, 3rd ed. 1751, VIII, 400). One might explain the presence of the frontispiece as Richardson's idea of furthering the sale of the book when he became its publisher, if it were not for the fact that the copper-plate of Roe was in the possession of the society itself, and not turned over to Richardson until April, 1748 (*B.M. Add. MSS.*, 6185, p. 183).

Letters in this work to and from Oliver St. John, first Viscount Grandison, may have suggested the name of the hero of Richardson's third novel.

PAMELA; OR, VIRTUE REWARDED

RICHARDSON originally conceived and wrote *Pamela* as a complete novel in two volumes. Five editions were published between November, 1740 and September, 1741. The publication of a spurious sequel to the novel (see no. 62) led him to continue his own story through two additional volumes. These volumes, numbered Vols. III and IV, concern themselves with the story of his heroine in her "exalted condition" as the wife of Mr. B., and the mother of his children. Though Vols. III and IV were originally published separately, they were later reprinted or reissued with editions or issues of Vols. I and II. Because of these conditions, difficulties attend any method of ordering the descriptions, but I have elected to describe the editions of Vols. I and II published during Richardson's lifetime, and to follow these with descriptions of the editions of Vols. III and IV (see p. 13).

Little need be said of the amazing reputation which this book achieved during its first year, since Richardson's biographers have presented much of the available data and told and retold the stories in testimony of its popularity and range of appeal. The number of the editions of Vols. I and II is sufficient in itself to establish the extent of the demand for the novel. Beginning in April, 1741, parodies, piracies, criticisms, dramatizations, and imitations were written and published through 1741 and 1742, with occasional attempts even later to trade upon the popularity of the book. *Pamela* became the subject of a poem, a play, an opera; its story was translated from a series of letters into straightforward narrative. A hundred figures in miniature celebrated Pamela's story in wax work in an exhibition in Shoe Lane, within a few steps of Richardson's home (*Daily Advertiser*, April 23, 1745). "For the Entertainment of the Ladies, more especially those who have the Book," there was offered for sale a fan, "representing the principal Adventures of her Life, in Servitude, Love, and Marriage" (*Daily Advertiser*, April 28, 1741). Richardson himself would probably have appreciated the compliment paid to him by the wax work exhibition and by the fan. With far less pleasure he must have received the poetic version of his story, advertised with a few lines from Ovid to the effect that a woman may be seduced without much difficulty when she is in the proper mood and time hangs heavy on her hands (see p. 129); with consternation he must have read the advertisement for *The Pleasures of Conjugal Love Reveal'd*, printed as a companion piece to *Pamela* and "very proper to be bound with it" (*Daily Advertiser*, April 9, 1741). But the "Advice to Booksellers," printed in the *Daily Advertiser* April 7, 1741, would have restored his equanimity:

Since Printers with such pleasing Nature write,
And since so awkwardly your Scribes indite,
Be wise in Time, and take a Friendly Hint;
Let Printers write, and let your Writers print.

In 1744 Joseph Highmore made twelve paintings in oil to illustrate the life of Pamela. Plates were made from these paintings by L. Truchy and Antoine Benoist. On July 13, 1745, Highmore gave notice in the *Daily Advertiser* that the prints would be ready for subscribers and might be obtained at his house on July 22. The price for subscribers was not given in the notice, but the price to others was two and one-half guineas per set. Each en-

graving has a long title in both French and English. The size of the engravings, including the titles, is 30 × 37.7 cm. In the year following Richardson's death, sets of these prints were offered for sale at 12s. (*London Chronicle*, April 24-27, 1762). Highmore also did a portrait of Richardson, now in the National Portrait Gallery, and portraits of Richardson and his wife, now in Stationers' Hall. He did single pictures of both *Clarissa* and *Clementina* (see *Times Literary Supplement*, December 16, 1920, p. 864).

As late as 1756 proposals for printing *The Life of Miss Fanny Brown* by John Piper called attention to the fact that Miss Fanny was a second Pamela (*London Evening Post*, January 30). But the phrase had lost much of its appeal, and Piper had to wait four years before he secured enough subscriptions to publish his story. As a matter of fact after the publication of the fifth edition in duodecimo in September, 1741, there was not sufficient demand for Vols. I and II to justify a reprinting in a small paper edition until 1754, and even then the occasion was hastened by the destruction by fire in Richardson's warehouse of some remaining copies of the fifth edition. It is true that the publication of the handsome sixth edition in octavo in May, 1742, must have worked in part against the sale of the fifth edition, but copies of this sixth edition were available for re-issue twenty years after its original publication. Vols. III and IV were never so popular as Vols. I and II. Sheets of the second edition of Vols. III and IV were available for second and third issues. Copies of the first edition of these volumes are readily obtainable at the present time, though when these volumes are combined with the first edition of Vols. I and II, the price is now fantastically high. The Jerome Kern copy of the four volumes sold in 1929 for \$4,000; the Rosenbach Company offered a copy for sale in 1936 for \$1,850; and James Rimell and Son, English booksellers, advertised a copy in 1936 for £800.

Additional details concerning the history of this novel are given in the discussions following the bibliographical descriptions of the separate editions.

THE EDITIONS OF PAMELA

This table is provided because no edition of Vols. III and IV was published until Vols. I and II had passed through five editions. Richardson did not decide to write Vols. III and IV until threatened by the publication of a spurious sequel, *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*. Vols. III and IV were sometimes issued independently of Vols. I and II; sometimes combined with various editions of Vols. I and II. Numbers refer to items in this bibliography.

PAMELA, VOLS. I, II	PUBLICATION DATES	PAMELA, VOLS. III, IV
First Edition, 12° (no. 5)	Nov. 6, 1740	
Second Edition, 12° (no. 6)	Feb. 14, 1741	
Third Edition, 12° (no. 7)	Mar. 12, 1741	
Fourth Edition, 12° (no. 8)	May 5, 1741 May 7, 1741	Vols. III, IV, announced for future publication
Fifth Edition, 12° (no. 9)	Sept. 22, 1741 Dec. 7, 1741	First Edition, 12° (no. 15)
(Richardson printing sixth edition, 8°)	(Dec. '41–May '42)	(Richardson printing second edition, 12°, and third edition, 8°)
Sixth Edition, 8° (no. 10)	May 10, 1742 Jan. 30, 1743? After Jan. 1743?	Third Edition, 8° (no. 17) Second Edition, 12° (no. 16) "Fourth Edition," 12° (no. 18). A second issue of the second edition
"Sixth Edition," 12° (no. 12). Copy not found; probably a second issue of fifth edition	Oct. 18, 1746?	"Fourth Edition," 12°, probably issued with "Sixth Edition," 12°, Vols. I, II
Seventh Edition, 12° (no. 13)	1754	"Fifth Edition," 12° (no. 19). A third issue of the second edition
Eighth Edition, 12° (no. 14)	Oct. 28, 1761	"Eighth Edition," 12° (no. 20). In reality the fourth edition
"Sixth Edition," 8° (no. 11). A second issue of the sixth edition	1772	"Sixth Edition," 8° (no. 17A). A second issue of the third edition

5. PAMELA, Vols. I and II.

First Edition, 1741 [pub. 1740], 2 vols., 12°.

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.7 × 7.2 cm.

Collation: A⁸ (— A1), B–N¹² O⁴; pp. xiv + 296.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; preface, [iii]–vi; letters to the editor, vii–xiv; text, [1]–296.

Note: The preliminary matter is printed on 7 leaves, with the title-page on A2, and the second and third leaves signed A3 and A4.

Mary Allen
P A M E L A:

OR,
VIRTUE Rewarded.

In a SERIES of
FAMILIAR LETTERS
 FROM A

Beautiful Young DAMEL,
 To her PARENTS.

Now first Published
 In order to cultivate the Principles of
 VIRTUE and RELIGION in the Minds of
 the YOUTH of BOTH SEXES.

A Narrative which has its Foundation in TRUTH
 and NATURE; and at the same time that it agree-
 ably entertains, by a Variety of curious and affecting
 Incidents, is intirely divested of all those Images,
 which, in too many Pieces calculated for Amusement
 only, tend to inflame the Minds they should instruct.

In Two VOLUMES.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N:

Printed for C. RIVINGTON, in St. Paul's Church-
 Yard; and J. OSBORN, in Peter-nigger Row.
 MDCCXLI.

P A M E L A:

OR,
VIRTUE Rewarded.

In a SERIES of
FAMILIAR LETTERS
 FROM A

Beautiful Young DAMEL,
 To her PARENTS.

Now first Published
 In order to cultivate the Principles of
 VIRTUE and RELIGION in the Minds of
 the YOUTH of BOTH SEXES.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for C. RIVINGTON, in St. Paul's Church-
 Yard; and J. OSBORN, in Peter-nigger Row.
 MDCCXLI.

A1 was undoubtedly used for the title-page of Vol. II, and signature A was printed on two-thirds of a sheet, the remaining one-third of which was used for signature O. This latter hypothesis is confirmed by the position of the watermarks, and by the presence in the Morgan copy of an offset of the verso of A8 on the recto of O1.

The last signature of Vol. II was printed on a half-sheet; and it is not credible that the title-page for Vol. II would have been printed alone. Furthermore, a similar method of printing these two volumes was carried on in subsequent editions of *Pamela* in duodecimo; and if an economical plan had not been originally adopted, we may be sure that a new one would have been devised when editions were set up from a printed text. In a copy of the third edition of Vols. I and II (Yale), offsets of the title-page of Vol. II may be found on the verso of O4, Vol. I; and of O4 on the title-page of Vol. II. In a copy of the fourth edition of these volumes (Yale), an offset of the title-page of Vol. I may be found on the verso of the title-page of Vol. II. These offsets show the general position on the sheet originally held by the title-page of Vol. II.

In the seventh edition of these volumes, the title-page of Vol. II was printed on A2.

Letter XXVII (p. 81) is misnumbered XXVI; Letter XXVIII (p. 86) is misnumbered XXVII, etc.

P. 16 is mispagged 61; and the 5 is missing in the pagination of p. 295.

A facsimile of the title-page of Vol. I, with the date "M DCC XL." in the imprint was included in a set of the novels of Richardson, published in twenty volumes by Chapman and Hall, 1902 (I, v). I have been unable to secure any information from the publishers by which I might trace the original of this facsimile. Inasmuch as *Pamela* was published in November, 1740, it is possible that a volume with this date in the imprint might have been issued. If so, however, it would seem to be unique. All copies examined and dozens offered for sale in booksellers' catalogues and auction records are dated 1741.


VOLUME II

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.7 × 7.2 cm.

Collation: [A]1 (= A1 of Vol. I), B-R¹² S⁰; pp. [ii] + 396.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-396.

Note: See note, Vol. I.

 *Publication:* Vols. I and II: registered at the Stationers' Company, November 4, 1740 (*MS. Register*, 1710-1746, I, 533); published November 6, 1740; price, 6s. bound (*Daily Gazetteer*). No exact information as to the size of the edition is available, but Richardson said in February, 1741, that "a large Impression" had been "carried off in less than Three Months." (*Pamela*, 2nd ed. 1741, I, xv).

THE story of the origin and of the writing of *Pamela* may be found in a letter of Richardson to Aaron Hill (*Barbould*, I, lxix–lxxvi). The novel was begun on November 10, 1739, and finished on January 10, 1740. Ten months elapsed before publication.

While preparing his model letter-writer (see no. 21) Richardson recollected a story which he had heard some twenty-five years before of a girl who “engaged the attention of her lady’s son, a young gentleman of free principles, who, on her lady’s death, attempted, by all manner of temptations and devices, to seduce her.” He found it proper to provide one or two letters in his letter-writer “as cautions to young folks circumstanced” as was the girl of this story. More specifically, as Downs points out, “just as Letter XXXI, recommending Mr. John Andrews as a superior Man-Servant, gave him the surname for his heroine, so Letter CXXXVIII (*A Father to a Daughter in Service on Hearing her Master’s Attempting her Virtue*) indicated the kind of story that might be told about her” (p. 19). When the germ of the novel was discovered, he cultivated it diligently, abandoning for the time the completion and publication of the letter-writer. What revisions were made during the ten months between the finishing of *Pamela* and its publication will probably never be known, inasmuch as the manuscript of this, as well as his other novels, seems irretrievably lost.

The inclusion of the two letters to the author in the prefatory material of the first volume was the cause of much contemporary disapproval. Richardson’s friends condemned the move as an error in taste, and his enemies implied that he had written the letters himself. *Shamela*, written in parody of the novel, contained “letters to the editor” in mockery of the practice. But however ill-advised the scheme may have been, there is no reason to suspect that Richardson himself wrote either of the letters.

The first letter was undoubtedly written by J. B. de Freval. In the composition of the novel Richardson saw fit to consult de Freval, for whom he was then printing a book (*B.M. Add. MSS.*, 6185, pp. 69, 75; and *Pamela*, 1st ed., I, ix). It seems unlikely, however, that de Freval contributed much more than encouragement and approval, with an injunction to publish the work. He wrote the first of the “letters to the editor,” which is signed with his initials—J.B.D.F. (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, index and f. 12). The printed letter is slightly altered from the manuscript.

Certain information is available concerning the authorship of the second letter. To some anonymous friend Richardson submitted the manuscript of the novel, and received with its return a letter of flattering commendation. When the novel was almost ready for publication, this letter appeared in the *Weekly Miscellany*, as the first public announcement that *Pamela* had been written (October 11, 1740). The letter, as published in the *Miscellany*, was prefaced by a note: “I chuse this publick Manner of giving the Author my Sentiments upon it, in hopes by this Means to quicken the Publication of it, and excite Peoples [*sic*] Attention to it when it does come out.” Certain phrases make it seem highly unlikely that the letter was originally written for publication in the *Miscellany*; and one must assume that either at the suggestion of its author, or of Richardson himself, it was inserted in this periodical. The editor of this weekly, William Webster, was a staunch friend of Richardson, and would willingly have recommended the forthcoming novel in this fashion. This letter, substantially as printed in the *Miscellany*, appeared in the novel, following the letter by de Freval. It should perhaps be pointed out that Richardson had formerly

printed the *Weekly Miscellany* for Webster, but that he had stopped this work with the issue of January 28, 1737; and consequently could not have inserted material in the columns of this periodical in his capacity as its printer (Bowyer, *Anecdotes*, pp. 541–542; Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, V, 175; and the colophons of the *Miscellany*).

After being heralded in the *Miscellany* for October 11, the novel was registered at Stationers' Hall on November 4, in the names of Richardson, Charles Rivington, and John Osborn. It was published two days later. Richardson's name did not appear on the book either as author or publisher, but he retained a one-third share of the copyright, selling the other two-thirds to Rivington and Osborn for twenty guineas (I. A. Williams, "Two Kinds of Richardsons," *London Mercury*, VII, 383). An indication of how completely Richardson underestimated the value of the book as a publishing venture may be found in the fact that in 1776 a one-sixteenth share of *Pamela* sold for £18 (Septimus Rivington, *The Publishing Family of Rivington*, London, 1919, p. 36).

The first Irish edition, selling at 5s. 5d., bound, was announced in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, January 27–31, 1741. It was in two volumes, duodecimo, printed by R. Reilly on Cork Hill for Faulkner in Essex Street and George Ewing in Dame Street. Below the advertisement in the *Journal*, Faulkner placed the following notice: "As the Demand for this Book is expected to be very great, it is hoped Gentlemen will be pleased to send Silver, as it will be very difficult to provide change."

The English edition was exported to Scotland, where it sold for 6s. 6d., or sixpence more than the price in London (*Scots Magazine*, II, 536).

An edition of the two volumes of *Pamela*, printed in one volume with continuous pagination through p. 644, was published in London under the title of Richardson's novel, with the brief imprint, "Printed in the Year MDCCXLI." The bookseller who had this volume for sale would not permit a detailed description of it, but I assume that it is a piracy. On the last page is the phrase, "The End of the First Volume." Presumably the text of the third and fourth volumes of the novel (see no. 15) appeared—or was to appear—in a companion volume.

An edition of *Pamela*, translated into French by the Abbé Prévost(?), was printed in London and published October 23, 1741 (*Daily Gazetteer*). The first volume was printed by William Bowyer (Bowyer, *Anecdotes*, pp. 156, 306). Like the English edition, the translation was contained in two volumes, duodecimo, dated 1741. It was advertised for use in schools. The imprint of the first volume indicates that it was published by Thomas Woodward and John Osborn, but the second volume has Osborn's name only.

This French edition was published after the fifth English edition, at the time when Richardson was beginning to revise his text for the handsome octavo edition of the novel (see no. 12). According to the preface of the translator in Vol. I, Richardson furnished him with a small number of additions and corrections for the text.

6. *PAMELA*, Vols. I and II.

Second Edition, 1741, 2 vols., 12°.

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.1 × 7.3 cm.

Collation: A⁸ (— A₁), a¹² B—N¹² O⁴; pp. xxxviii + 296. See note, Vol. I, first edition.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; preface, [iii]–vi; letters to the editor, vii–xiv; “Introduction to this Second Edition,” followed by additional letters to the editor, xv–xxxvii; verses, xxxvii–xxxviii; text, [1]–296.

Note: The new material in this edition is on pp. xv–xxxviii. Letter XXV (p. 70) is misnumbered XII. Letter XXVI (p. 77) is misnumbered XXV; Letter XXVII (p. 81) is misnumbered XXVI; etc.

P. 295 is mispaged 293—an attempt to correct the error in pagination of the first edition.


VOLUME II

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.3 × 7.3 cm.

Collation: [A]₁ (= A₁ of Vol. I), B—R¹² S⁶; pp. [ii] + 396.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–396.

Note: P. 177 is mispaged 187; p. 242 is mispaged 142.

 *Publication:* Vols. I and II, February 14, 1741; price, 6s. bound (*Daily Advertiser*).

BEFORE printing the second edition, Richardson made slight changes in the text, some at the suggestion of what he called a “good-natured Letter,” sent anonymously to Charles Rivington, November 15, 1740 (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 33). For examples of the nature of these changes, compare pp. 177 and 305 in the second volume of both editions. Many alterations suggested by the critic were not made, but Richardson publicly acknowledged receipt of the letter, and begged the favor of further correspondence, “Instruction, and not Curiosity, being sincerely the Motive for this Request.” (*Daily Gazetteer*, November 20, 1740). A *précis* of this critic’s objections is given in Vol. I, xxi–xxii.

The new material in the introductory pages of this edition consists of letters and abstracts of letters in general praise of the novel and by way of answer to specific objections. Printed as anonymous, these were in fact the work of Richardson’s friend, Aaron Hill (*Barbauld*, I, 53; *Forster MSS.*, XIII, 2, f. 36, a letter to Richardson, January 6, 1740, unsigned, but undoubtedly written by Hill; for this ascription see letter of Hill to Richardson immediately following at f. 40, dated January 15, 1740; for the “delightful Story,” told in Vol. I, xxxi–xxxiii, see *Barbauld*, I, 56, ff.).

Dr. Benjamin Slocock, of St. Saviour’s, Southwark, who recommended *Pamela* from the pulpit at some date before January 6, 1741, also wrote to Richardson, advising that no alterations be made in the novel. This forthright commendation is referred to in the introductory letters by the phrase, “the Gentleman’s Advice” (Vol. I, xxii; *Forster MSS.*, XIII, 2, f. 36). Slocock’s encouragement, and that of others, accounts for the fact that no material changes were made in the text of the second edition.

The manuscript of the *Verses*, printed in Vol. I, xxxvii–xxxviii, is in *Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 39.

Hogarth apparently had been employed to make two frontispieces for the second edition, and in December Richardson approved the designs

P A M E L A :

O R,

V I R T U E Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

F A M I L I A R L E T T E R S

F R O M A

Beautiful Young D A M S E L,
To her P A R E N T S.

Now first Published

In order to cultivate the Principles of V I R T U E
and R E L I G I O N in the Minds of the Y O U T H
of B O T H S E X E S.

A Narrative which has its Foundation in T R U T H and
N A T U R E; and at the same time that it agreeably entertains,
by a Variety of curious and affecting I M A G E S, is entirely directed
of all those Images, which, in too many Places calculated for
Amusement only, tend to *refine* the Minds they should *instruct*.

In T W O V O L U M E S.

The S E C O N D E D I T I O N.

To which are prefixed, E X T R A C T S from several curious
L E T T E R S written to the *Editor* on the Subject.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for C. R I V I N G T O N, in *St. Paul’s Church-
Yard*; and J. O S B O R N, in *Pater-noster Row*.

M D C C X L I.

P A M E L A :

O R,

V I R T U E Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

F A M I L I A R L E T T E R S

F R O M A

Beautiful Young D A M S E L
To her P A R E N T S.

Now first Published

In order to cultivate the Principles of
V I R T U E and R E L I G I O N in the Minds of
the Y O U T H of B O T H S E X E S.

In T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L. II.

The S E C O N D E D I T I O N.



L O N D O N :

Printed for C. R I V I N G T O N, in *St. Paul’s Church-
Yard*; and J. O S B O R N, in *Pater-noster Row*.

M D C C X L I.

(*Barbould*, I, 56). In his preface Richardson explained their failure to appear: “. . . one was actually finished for that Purpose; but there not being Time for the other, from the Demand for the new Impression; and the Engraving Part of that which was done (tho’ no Expence was spared) having fallen very short of the Spirit of the Passages they were intended to represent, the Proprietors were advised to lay them aside” (Vol. I, xxxvi).

The second Irish edition, apparently printed from the text of the first Irish edition rather than from the second English edition, was published in March, 1741 (*Dublin Journal*, March 17–21). It sold for 5s. 5d., bound. The imprint of the second volume (dated 1742) indicates that it was printed by S. Powell for Ewing and Faulkner (publishers of the first Irish edition), and for W. Smith in Dame Street. The advertisements omit Smith’s name.

7. *PAMELA*, Vols. I and II.

Third Edition, 1741, 2 vols., 12°.

VOLUMES I AND II


Title-pages: As in second edition, with change for number of edition.

Collation and Contents: As in second edition.

Note: (See note to Vol. I, first edition). The type pages used for printing two sheets of the second edition were held undistributed, to be used for the third. These type pages were for the text of signatures A, a, and O of Vol. I. Before printing the third edition, Richardson had type page xv opened, and the word “the” substituted for “this” in the heading, “Introduction to this Second Edition”; but the error in pagination in signature O (p. 293 for p. 295) was not corrected. The errors in pagination in Vol. II were corrected, however.

In Vol. I, p. 169 is mispaged 269; and in Vol. II (Yale copy) pp. 324 and 328 are paged in the inner instead of the outer margins.

In Vol. I the misnumbering of Letter XXV of the second edition is corrected; but Letter XXVI is misnumbered XXV as in the second edition, and Letter XXVII is misnumbered XXVI, etc., as in both first and second editions.

 *Publication*: Vols. I and II, March 12, 1741; price, 6s. bound (*Daily Advertiser*, *Daily Gazetteer*, *Daily Post*). On March 7, however, the *Daily Advertiser* announced publication for March 11.

INASMUCH as Richardson held undistributed certain type pages after printing his second edition, we may assume that he was aware of the popularity of *Pamela* by February, 1741, and was anticipating the demand for a third edition. It seems unlikely, however, that he expected the demand to arise in less than a month after the second edition was announced.

Only slight changes were made in the text between the second and third editions.

I have found no evidence of the publishing of a third Irish edition. The second Irish edition was still being advertised in January, 1742 (*Dublin Journal*, January 2-6).

8. *PAMELA*, Vols. I and II.

Fourth Edition, 1741, 2 vols., 12°.


VOLUMES I AND II

Title-pages: As in second edition, with change for number of edition.

Collation and Contents: As in second edition, except that the additional letters to the editor end at the middle of p. xxxvi, and the verses begin at the top of p. xxxvii. For the heading (p. xv) "Introduction to this Second Edition," read "Introduction to the Second Edition."

Note: (See note to Vol. I, first edition). The type pages used for printing the eight leaves of signature A of the fourth edition were the same as those used for the second and third. The remainder of the type was reset. An unusually large number of minor errors in the catch-words of both volumes indicates that this resetting was hastily or carelessly done.

The errors in pagination of the third edition are corrected; but Pamela's letters in Vol. I are misnumbered as in the third edition.

 *Publication*: Vols. I and II, May 5, 1741; price, 6s. bound (*Daily Gazetteer*).

NO serious revision of the text seems to have been made between the publication of the third and fourth editions.

A copy bound in grey-green marbled boards with calf backs and corners (Yale) may give an indication of the original appearance of some of the copies.

9. *PAMELA*, Vols. I and II.

Fifth Edition, 1741, 2 vols., 12°.

VOLUMES I AND II

Title-pages: As in second edition, with change for number of edition.

Collation and Contents: As in second edition, except that the additional letters to the editor end ten lines from the top of p. xxxvi, and the verses begin at the top of p. xxxvii. For the heading (p. xv) "Introduction to this Second Edition," read "Introduction to the Present Edition."


Note: (See note to Vol. I, first edition). The type for this edition was reset throughout, with the possible exception of that used for the title-pages. Many of the lines on these title-pages give evi-

dence of having been printed from the type used for the second, third, and fourth editions.

Contrary to the practice of earlier editions, plain rules are used in Vol. I between all of Pamela's letters.

The letters of Pamela in Vol. I are misnumbered as in the third and fourth editions.

As in the fourth edition, an unusually large number of minor errors occur in the catch-words, many repeated from the earlier edition.

 *Publication:* Vols. I and II, September 22, 1741; price, 6s. bound (*Daily Gazetteer*).

CHANGES in the text between the fourth and fifth editions are not of major importance, but these slight revisions occur more frequently than they do between the second and third, and the third and fourth editions. The text of the preface shows marked revision.

P A M E L A.

O R,

V I R T U E Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

F A M I L I A R L E T T E R S

From a Beautiful

Young DAMSEL to her P A R E N T S :

And afterwards,

In her EXALTED CONDITION,

BETWEEN

HER, and Persons of *Figure and Quality,*

UPON THE

Most Important and Entertaining SUBJECTS,
In GENTEEL LIFE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

Publish'd in order to cultivate the Principles of VIRTUE
and RELIGION in the Minds of the YOUTH of
BOTH SEXES.

THE SIXTH EDITION, Corrected.

And Embellish'd with COPPER PLATES, Design'd and
Engrav'd by Mr. HAYMAN, and Mr. GRAVELOT.

V O L. I.

To which is prefixed, An AMPLÉ TABLE of CONTENTS;
Being, AN EPILOGUE of the *Work*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for S. RICHARDSON;

And Sold by J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*; and JOHN
RIVINGTON, in *St Paul's Church-Yard*

M.DCC.XLII.

10. PAMELA, Vols. I and II.

Sixth Edition, First Issue, 1742, 2 vols., 8°. (Published with Vols. III and IV, Third Edition, First Issue, 8°. See no. 17).

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 17 × 9 cm.

Collation: A⁴ a-b⁸ c² B-Cc⁸ Dd⁴; pp. viii + xxxvi + 408. (7 leaves of engraved illustrations throughout book).

Contents: Royal license, recto blank [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; preface, v-viii; contents of Vols. I-IV, [i]-xxxvi; text [1]-407; blank page, [408].

Illustrations: The seven engravings are marked to face pp. 4, 123, 151, 214, 290, 358, 373. Francis Hayman designed the first six; Henri Gravelot designed the seventh, and made all the engravings.

Note: The simultaneous publication of the sixth edition of Vols. I and II and the third edition of Vols. III and IV was the first occasion on which the novel appeared as a work in four volumes. In the first edition of Vols. III and IV, however, these volumes were so numbered on the title-page; and were designed to accompany any of the first five editions of Vols. I and II.

In this sixth edition of Vol. I, A₃ is signed A₂; and the signature marks for a, b, and c are enclosed within square brackets.

Contrary to the case in all other lifetime editions of *Pamela*, both before and after the sixth, the letters in Vol. I are numbered correctly.

The catch-word on p. 391 is correct, but the last word of the text is used as the first word on p. 392. The catch-word on p. 151 is missing in some copies (Yale).

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I, with the omission of the two lines, "To


which is prefixed . . . of the Work"; and the use of a colon instead of a semi-colon after "Richardson."

Collation: [A]² B–Ee⁸ Ff⁴; pp. [iv] + 440. (7 leaves of engraved illustrations throughout book).

Contents: Royal license, recto blank, [i–ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii–iv]; text, [1]–438; booksellers' advertisements, [439–440].

Illustrations: The seven engravings are marked to face pp. 32, 89, 175, 249, 267, 305, 404. Hayman designed the plate to face p. 267; Gravelot designed the remainder, and made all the engravings.

Note: P. 296 is mispaged 269. The catch-word on p. 37 is "yourself" for "yourself"; the catch-word on p. 47 is correct, but the last word of the text is used as the first word on p. 48.

 *Publication:* Vols. I and II (with Vols. III and IV), May 10, 1742; price of the four volumes, £1. 4, bound (*Daily Advertiser*).

Because of difficulties with Irish booksellers over the pirating of the first edition of Vols. III and IV, Richardson secured a Royal License for the work. Record of the issuing of this license to Richardson, Rivington, and Osborn may be found at the Public Record Office (*S.P. Dom.*, "Warrant Books," No. 367, p. 250). The license, dated January 13, 1742, was secured about a month after the publication of the first edition of Vols. III and IV. It was used in the second edition, though there seems good reason to believe that the second edition was actually published after the third (see no. 16).

Through the protection of this license the copyright owners were presumably assured that none of the four volumes could be reprinted in whole or in abridged form during a period of fourteen years from date.

MANY changes were made in the text for this edition, and at the time of publication Richardson intended it to represent the final state of the novel. In November, 1742, however, he was collecting the "observations" of his friends, should the demand arise for a new edition (see p. 31); and a year before his death he himself was engaged in making final alterations against a future edition (see no. 14). Because of the adverse criticism of both friends and enemies, Richardson omitted the "letters to the editor" from the prefatory material of this edition. These letters had appeared in the first five editions, and were to reappear in the seventh and eighth editions.

The third edition of Vols. III and IV was published with the sixth edition of Vols. I and II in May, 1742. The first edition of Vols. III and IV had been published as a sequel in two volumes in December, 1741. The second edition of Vols. III and IV was not, I believe, published until after the third edition of these volumes (see no. 16). Consequently, this was the first occasion on which the novel was published as a work in four volumes.

The physical appearance of this edition was a matter of much concern to Richardson. Its printing occupied his press at least seven months before publication (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 67). It was printed in a larger type

than that used for the editions in duodecimo; and the lavish advertisements for it called the attention of the reader to the fact that it was "beautifully printed on a Writing-Paper" (*London Evening Post*, June 8-10, 1742).

Among Richardson's manuscripts are two drafts of a dedication "once design'd, to be prefix'd to the Four Volumes of Pamela." (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, ff. 10, 11). One version is reprinted in Erich Poetzsche's *Samuel Richardsons Belesenheit*, Kiel, 1907, p. 93. These drafts purport to dedicate the work to "the truly admirable Lady to whom only these Four Volumes of Pamela can with Propriety be inscribed," since she "sat in the Writer's Mind for the Graces both Personal and Intellectual" of his heroine. My knowledge of the lady's identity is as yet uncertain.

A so-called sixth edition of *Pamela* in duodecimo was published in Dublin. Four volume sets of this novel are in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*. The sets consist in both cases of Vol. I, sixth edition, Vol. II, second edition, Vols. III, IV, first edition. All volumes except the first are dated 1742. The title-page of Vol. I, printed for George Ewing and George Faulkner, is dated 1741; but the Trinity College copy of this volume has a second title-page, which includes the name of William Smith in the imprint and is dated 1742. Smith was apparently a third partner in the Irish publication of *Pamela*. His name does not appear with Faulkner's and Ewing's in the imprint of the first edition, but it does appear in the second edition of Vol. II, and in the first edition of Vols. III and IV, 1742. I do not believe that the use of the phrase "sixth edition" on the title-page of Vol. I is evidence for the existence of third, fourth, and fifth Irish editions. I suspect that Faulkner and his partners used this phrase, because the English editions of Vols. I and II had reached the sixth when the novel first appeared in London as a work in four volumes.

P A M E L A:

O R,

V I R T U E Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

F A M I L I A R L E T T E R S

From a Beautiful

Young DAMSEL to her P A R E N T S:

And afterwards,

In her EXALTED CONDITION,

BETWEEN

HER, and Persons of Figure and Quality,

UPON THE

Most Important and Entertaining SUBJECTS
In GENTLE LIFE.

In FOUR VOLUMES.

Published in order to cultivate the Principles of VIRTUE
and RELIGION in the Minds of the YOUTH of
BOTH SEXES.

The SIXTH EDITION; Corrected.

By the late Mr. SAM. RICHARDSON.

V O L I.

L O N D O N:

Sold by WILLIAM OTHBORG, opposite the North-side of
the New Church, in the Strand.

MDCCLXXII.

I I. PAMELA, Vols. I and II.

Sixth Edition, Second Issue, 1772, 2 vols., 8°. (Reissued with Vols. III and IV, Third Edition, 8°. See no. 17.)

VOLUMES I-IV

Title-pages: Vol. I, reproduced. Type page 16.7 × 8.9 cm. Vols. II, III, IV, as in Vol. I.

Note: This is a second issue of the sheets of the edition of 1742, with new title-pages, and with the omission of the leaves carrying the Royal License, and of all engravings. All volumes are labelled as the sixth edition on the title-pages of this issue.

This second issue causes considerable confusion among modern booksellers, inasmuch as there was a tenth edition of *Pamela* published in 1771.

I 2. PAMELA, Vols. I and II.

Sixth Edition, 1746 (?), 2 vols., 12°. (Published perhaps with the "fourth edition" of Vols. III and IV. See no. 18.)

I have not seen an edition of *Pamela*, called the sixth and published in duodecimo. An edition in four volumes and so described

was advertised, however, in the *General Evening Post*, October 16–18, 1746, selling for 12s., bound. The same advertisement listed the sixth edition in octavo (see no. 10), selling for £1. 4.

The evidence of this advertisement might be discounted were it not for the fact that Richardson's *Grandison* contains an advertisement in 1754 for the same two editions of *Pamela* advertised in the *General Evening Post* in 1746 (1st ed. IV, 303). Furthermore, we know that Richardson issued two "first editions" of *Grandison*, and two "fourth editions" of *Clarissa*, in each case one being in octavo and the other in duodecimo. It is possible, then, that he should have issued two "sixth editions" of *Pamela* which were distinguishable by their formats.

I do not believe, however, that Richardson reprinted Vols. I and II between the sixth edition, octavo, 1742 and the seventh edition, duodecimo, 1754. Copies of the fifth edition of Vols. I and II were available long after its publication, and might have been purchased by those who wanted a less expensive edition than the large-paper sixth edition. I suspect that if a copy of the first two volumes of *Pamela* are found with a title-page bearing the phrase "sixth edition" and printed in duodecimo, that they will be found to be a second issue of sheets of the fifth edition of these volumes.

We can be sure that Vols. III and IV were not reprinted for a sixth edition in 1746. The "fifth edition" of these volumes (a third issue of the second edition) was published in 1754. But the "fourth edition" of Vols. III and IV (a second issue of the second edition), might have been combined with this so-called sixth edition of Vols. I and II to make the set advertised in 1746.

Lowndes describes an edition of *Pamela*, dated 1746, in four volumes, octavo. But he has merely made an error in transcription, for the source of his information is the *Catalogue* of the Benjamin Heath Sale, 1810, No. 1755, where the date is given as 1742.

13. PAMELA, Vols. I and II.

Seventh Edition, 1754, 2 vols., 12°. (Published with Vols. III and IV, Fifth Edition, 12°. See no. 19).

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.1 × 7.2 cm.

Collation: A⁸ (— A₂), a¹² B–N¹² O⁴; pp. xxxviii + 296. See note to Vol. I, first edition.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; preface, [iii]–vi; letters to the editor, vii–xiv; "Introduction to the Present Edition," followed by additional letters to the editor, xv–xxxvi; verses, xxxvii–xxxviii; text, [1]–296.

Note: Letters of Pamela misnumbered as in third edition.

P A M E L A ;

O R,

VIRTUE Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

FAMILIAR LETTERS

FROM A

Beautiful Young D A M S E L,
To her P A R E N T S.

Now first Published,

In order to cultivate the Principles of VIRTUE
and RELIGION in the Minds of the YOUTH
of BOTH SEXES.

A Narrative which has its Foundation in TRUTH and
NATURE, and at the same time that it agreeably entertains,
by a Variety of curious and affecting INCIDENTS, is entirely divested
of all those Images, which, in too many Pieces calculated for
Amusement only, tend to inflame the Minds they should instruct,

In FOUR VOLUMES.

THE SEVENTH EDITION.

To which are prefix'd, EXTRACTS from several curious
LETTERS written to the Editor on the Subject.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JAMES HODGKINS, near London-Bridge; and
J. and J. RIVINGTON, in St. Paul's Church Yard.

M.DCC.LIV.

VOLUME II


Title-page: As in Vol. I, through first nine lines. Vol. II then reads:

"In order to cultivate the Principles of | VIRTUE and RELI-
GION in the Minds of | the YOUTH of BOTH SEXES. |
[rule] | In FOUR VOLUMES. | [rule] | VOL. II. | [rule] |
The SEVENTH EDITION. | [rule] | [ornament] | [rule] |
LONDON: | [etc., as in Vol. I, with hyphen omitted in "Church-
Yard".]"

Collation: [A]₁ (= A₂ of Vol. I), B-R¹² S⁶; pp. [ii] + 396.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-396.

Note: In my copy the catch-word on p. 257 is "Her" for "Here."

 *Publication:* Vols. I and II (with Vols. III and IV) presumably published in 1754. I have found no advertisements.

ON September 19, 1753, Richardson wrote to the Chapones that a fire in his plant in 1752 had destroyed all the copies of the last impression of Vols. I and II of *Pamela* (*Forster MSS.*, XII, 2, f. 88). This last impression was the fifth edition, duodecimo, published originally in 1741. The evidence of the letter attests the fact that *Pamela's* popularity rose to its height and fell off precipitately within that period between the publication of the first edition in November, 1740 and the fifth edition in September, 1741. The issuing of the handsome sixth edition in octavo in 1742 may have partially impaired the sale of the fifth edition, but it should be remembered that sheets of the sixth edition were available for reissue in 1772. It is possible, of course, that the "sixth edition, duodecimo," advertised in 1746 (see no. 12) was the "last impression" of Vols. I and II which Richardson mentions in the letter to the Chapones, but I strongly suspect that this was merely a reissue of the fifth edition.

Richardson specifically states in this letter that the remaining copies of Vols. III and IV were untouched by the fire. This is merely confirmation of the evidence which the books themselves offer: Vols. I and II, seventh edition, were reprinted because of the fire; Vols. III and IV, published with these volumes and called the "fifth edition," were remaining copies of the second edition, duodecimo, available in 1754 for a third issue (see no. 19).

In October, 1753, Richardson wrote to Lady Bradshaigh: "I will give Pamela my last Correction, if my Life be spared; that, as a Piece of Writing only, she may not appear, for her Situation, unworthy of her younger Sisters." (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 29). But he was busily engaged in preparing, printing, and revising the text of *Grandison* during this period. The minor changes in the text of Vols. I and II might have been the work of the corrector of Richardson's press. The "letters to the editor," removed from the sixth edition, were restored, however, to the prefatory matter of Vol. I.

14. *PAMELA*, Vols. I and II.

Eighth Edition, 1762 [pub. 1761], 2 vols., 12°. (Published with Vols. III and IV of the so-called Eighth Edition, 12°. See no. 20.)

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.3×7.3 cm.

Collation: A⁴ a¹² B-N¹² O⁴; pp. xxxii + 296.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [iii]-v; letters to the editor, vi-xii; "Introduction to the Present Edition," followed by additional letters to the editor, xiii-xxx; verses, xxxi-xxxii; text, [1]-296.

Note: Letters of Pamela misnumbered as in third edition.


VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I, through first twelve lines. Vol. II then reads: "[rule] | In FOUR VOLUMES. | [rule] | VOL. II. | [rule] | The EIGHTH EDITION. | [rule] | [ornament] | [double rule] | LONDON: | [etc., as in Vol. I, except that the "o" in "C^o." is not a superior letter]."

Collation: [A] I B-R¹² S⁶ (-S6); pp. [ii] + 394.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-394.

Note: In all likelihood the title was printed on S6. In the first seven editions the title-page for Vol. II was printed on a leaf of signature A, Vol. I.

 *Publication:* Vols. I and II (with Vols. III and IV), October 28, 1761; price of the four volumes, 12s. bound (*Public Advertiser*).

A YEAR before his death Richardson wrote to Lady Bradshaigh that *Pamela* was again almost out of print, and that a new edition was in demand. He asked to be allowed to read certain observations which she had made on the text that he might make alterations and corrections in the light of her ideas (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 270, July, 1760?). His ill-health at the time probably prevented any elaborate alterations, had he been disposed to make them. In fact, I suspect that he was more interested in discussing Lady Bradshaigh's observations than he was in materially changing the text of his first novel. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that what changes were made between the seventh and eighth editions were made in general accordance with the author's corrections. Changes were made in the introductory material of Vol. I; certain omissions and rearrangement of material were made in the concluding portions of Vol. II; a preface was restored to Vol. III; and Richardson's advertisement to the reader was omitted from the last page of Vol. IV. Minor textual changes occur.

This edition seems to have been printed at Richardson's press; and the omission of his name from the title-pages suggests that he retained at least partial control over the preparation of it, even though it was not published until after his death. In all other cases of posthumous publication, booksellers placed his name on the title-pages.

A so-called eighth edition of Vol. I, with title-page dated 1767, was issued with Vols. II, III, and IV, ninth edition. It was printed for H. Woodfall, John Rivington, W. Strahan, R. Baldwin, W. Johnston, M. Richardson, and B. Collins. The format and collation of this edition correspond to the eighth edition as described, but Vol. I can be easily distinguished by

PAMELA;

OR,

VIRTUE Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

FAMILIAR LETTERS

FROM A

Beautiful Young DAMSEL,

To her PARENTS.

PUBLISHED,

In order to cultivate the Principles of VIRTUE
and RELIGION in the Minds of the YOUTH
of BOTH SEXES.

A NARRATIVE which has its Foundation in TRUTH,
and at the same time that it agreeably entertains, by a Variety
of curious and affecting INCIDENTS, is entirely diverted of all
those Images, which in too many Pieces calculated for Amusement
only, tend to inflame the Minds they should restrain.

In FOUR VOLUMES.

The EIGHTH EDITION.

To which are prefixed, EXTRACTS from several curious
LETTERS written to the Editor on the Subject.

VOL. I

LONDON:

Printed for HENRY WOODFALL, JOHN RIVINGTON,
WILLIAM JOHNSTON, JOSEPH RICHARDSON, and
STANLEY CROWDER and C^o.

M.DCC.LXII.

PAMELA:

O R,

VIRTUE Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

FAMILIAR LETTERS

From a Beautiful

Young DAMSEL to her PARENTS:

And afterwards,

In her EXALTED CONDITION,

BETWEEN

HER, and Persons of Figure and Quality,

UPON THE MOST

**Important and Entertaining Subjects,
In GENTEEL LIFE.****The THIRD and FOURTH VOLUMES.**Publish'd in order to cultivate the Principles of
**VIRTUE and RELIGION in the Minds of
the YOUTH of BOTH SEXES.**By the Editor of the *TWO FIRST.***V O L. III.****L O N D O N:**

Printed for S. RICHARDSON:

And Sold by C. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-
Yard*; and J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row.***M.DCC.XIII.****PAMELA;**

O R,

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**Important and Entertaining Subjects,
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**VIRTUE and RELIGION in the Minds of
the YOUTH of BOTH SEXES.****V O L. IV.****L O N D O N:**

Printed for S. RICHARDSON:

And Sold by C. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-
Yard*; And J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row.***M.DCC.XLII.**

the fact that only five leaves are signed in each gathering. The tenth edition is dated 1771.

15. PAMELA, Vols. III and IV.

First Edition, 1742 [pub. 1741], 2 vols., 12°. (These two volumes—Richardson's own continuation of his first novel—are sometimes known as *Pamela in her Exalted Condition.*)

VOLUME III

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.8 × 7.4 cm.

Collation: A⁴(— A₄), B–S¹² T⁸; pp. [ii] + iv + 420.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; preface, I–iv; errata note, iv; text, [1]–419; blank page, [420].

Note: The preliminary matter was printed on three leaves, with the fourth leaf, carrying the title-page of Vol. IV, cut and removed. These four leaves were originally printed on one-third of a sheet, the other two-thirds of which was used for the eight leaves of X in Vol. IV. The concluding signature of Vol. III is printed on a half-sheet. In my copy there is an offset of the title-page of Vol. III on the verso of X8, Vol. IV; and an offset of the title-page of Vol. IV on the verso of A3, Vol. III.

The catch-word on p. 32 is "A" for "As."

VOLUME IV

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.1 × 7.4 cm.

Collation: [A]1 (= A₄ of Vol. III), B–U¹² X⁸; pp. [ii] + 472.


Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–468; conclusion, 469–471; Richardson's advertisement to the reader, [472].

Note: See note, Vol. III. The catch-word on p. 120 is correct, but the compositor has omitted it from the text on p. 121; catch-word missing on p. 426.

P. 4 is unpagged in most copies; the page number is present in the Harvard Treasure Room copy.

In the B.M. copy the catch-word on p. 233 is "Hre" for "Her."

In some copies (Yale, B.M., Sale), the catch-word on p. 324 is missing; it is present in the Harvard Treasure Room copy, in the Tinker copy, and in a second copy of mine.

 *Publication:* Vols. III and IV: registered at the Stationers' Company, December 4, 1741 (*MS. Register*, 1710–1746, I, 547); published December 7, 1741; price, 6s. bound (*Daily Gazetteer*). No exact information as to the size of the edition is available, but Richardson said in October that "the number Printed, being large, makes it tedious at the Press" (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 67).

THE first public intimation that Richardson gave of his intention to continue *Pamela* beyond the first two volumes was in the form of a note to an advertisement of the fourth edition of *Pamela*, Vols. I and II.

He warned the public that "a spurious Continuation" was in the press (*Daily Gazetteer*, May 7, 1741). This continuation, *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, forced Richardson, according to his note in the newspaper, to continue his novel himself, "from Materials, that, perhaps, but for such a notorious Invasion of his Plan, he should not have published."

In a letter to his brother-in-law, James Leake, Richardson explained the whole affair (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, I, f. 54, August, 1741). Richard Chandler, a bookseller, had employed John Kelly, "of the Temple, as he styles himself," to write *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*. Richardson remonstrated to a friend of Kelly's, and Chandler came to Richardson, maintaining that he thought that Richardson had neither leisure nor inclination to continue Pamela's story. Richardson told Chandler that he would not write a sequel to his first two volumes if he were not forced to do so, but warned him that he would not have his characters "depreciated and debased, by those who knew nothing of the Story, nor the Delicacy required in the Continuation of the Piece."

Chandler then aroused Richardson's anger by suggesting that what Kelly had written be joined to what Richardson might write, and that the book appear under Richardson's name. When Richardson contemptuously rejected this proposal, Chandler offered to abandon the four half-sheets of *Pamela's Conduct* already printed, and to take the loss of nine guineas advanced to Kelly, on the consideration that Richardson would write the sequel for Chandler and his partners, Caesar Ward, John Wood, Charles Woodward, and Thomas Waller. This proposal Richardson also rejected, maintaining that he had a young family, who were entitled to all that he could do for them. He urged Chandler to publish his book under some other title, if he thought it could stand on its own feet; but warned him that if he continued as he had designed, advertisements would be published against him.

Richardson felt that Chandler had been convinced of the baseness of his designs by the interview, but a short while later he heard that Chandler was calling him a dog in a manger, and boasting that he had authors who could answer Richardson's advertisements with equally telling replies. Mrs. Barbauld's remark that the third and fourth volumes of *Pamela* were "less a continuation than the author's defence of himself" assumes greater significance in the light of the merry warfare which resulted over *Pamela's Conduct* (*Barbauld*, I, lxxvii).

On May 28, 1741, *Pamela's Conduct* was published, selling for 3s., bound, "Printed on the same Letter as Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded," and written by a gentleman "more conversant in high Life than the Author of Pamela" (*Craftsman and Common Sense*, May 30; *Daily Advertiser*, June 3; and *Champion*, May 28). Richardson at once advised his public that his own continuation would be printed with all convenient speed, from materials "which no other Person can have" (*Daily Gazetteer*, May 30). He then proceeded to publish in the *Gazetteer* and the *Advertiser* a selection from the "spurious continuation" (p. 125, ff.), with annotations of his own (*Daily Gazetteer*, June 4, 10; *Daily Advertiser*, June 6). Pamela as conceived by Kelly in the passage reproduced, speculates on the marvel of nature which allows a pregnant woman to consume six times the ordinary quantity of wine without becoming intoxicated; and then concludes: "Well said the Philosopher, *all that I know is, that I know nothing*. And indeed the Knowledge of our own Ignorance is, in my Opinion, knowing a

great deal." Richardson has annotated this passage: "*What Pity the High-Life-Men know not thus much!*"

He warned the public that "the *whole* Volume is written with *equal* Spirit and Propriety; and if this succeeds, (as who can doubt it!) the honest *High-Life-Men* in their Introduction give hopes of another Volume." Richardson struck off copies of this annotated specimen sheet of *Pamela's Conduct*, and had them distributed gratis by Rivington and Osborn, but I have not seen a copy thus printed. Later Richardson dropped sarcasm, called *Pamela's Conduct* a "wretched Performance," and announced that "when any Person who is above Scandal and scandalous Practices, shall say anything worthy of Notice, and set his Name to what he publishes, he shall receive a proper Reply" (*Daily Gazetteer*, June 18, 1741). In July, the second volume of *Pamela's Conduct* was announced as "in the Press." It was immediately stigmatized by Richardson as "Fresh Irruptions of Scandal and Impertinence in the honest *High Life Men*" (*Champion*, July 7; *Common Sense*, July 18; and *Daily Gazetteer*, July 11). The proprietors of *Pamela's Conduct* thought fit "to give the following Answer to the Impertinent, Vain, Self-sufficient and Scurrilous *pretended* Author of *Pamela* . . . [that they] look upon his Scandalous Advertisement [as] in a most flagrant Manner striking at, and endeavouring to stain, their Characters, which stand *at least in as fa[i]r a light* as that pretended Author's; but they don't wonder at his being *so free with them*, since, in the Work he arrogates to himself, he has *burlesqued the Scriptures* and made *Time Servers, Fools, and Fiddlers*, of the Reverend Clergy" (*Common Sense*, July 18).

Meanwhile Richardson was busy writing and printing his sequel. He began writing about the middle of April (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 54); had progressed far enough to send Leake the first two signatures of Vol. III by August 26 (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 59); had finished his manuscript by October 8 (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 67); and by November 12 had furnished Aaron Hill with printed sheets of all of Vol. III and Vol. IV through signature Q (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 2, f. 54). George Psalmanazar, notorious literary imposter, submitted for Richardson's approval some opening pages, which he rejected as "ridiculous & improbable" (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 26 ff.). Alexander Gordon sent him a "few scattered Thoughts about Operas," which he used in Vol. IV, p. 114 (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 11). And in October, when both volumes were completely written, an anonymous correspondent sent him a letter from Lady Davers to her sister, as the first letter of Vol. III (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 68).

Richardson entered the two volumes in the Stationers' Register, December 4, in his own name, not sharing the copyright with Rivington and Osborn, as he had done with the first two volumes (*MS. Register*, 1710-46, I, 547). On Monday, December 7, the volumes were published.

In the *Advertisement*, Vol. IV, p. 472, Richardson made provision for carrying the story beyond the fourth volume in announcing that "all the Copies of Mrs. B.'s Observations and Writings, upon every Subject hinted at in the preceding Four Volumes, and in particular those relating to *Devotion, Education, Plays, &c.* are now in *One Hand Only*: And that, *if ever* they shall be published, . . . it must not be, till after a certain Event, as unwished, as deplorable: And *then* solely, at the Assignment of SAMUEL RICHARDSON." In the *Preface*, Vol. III, p. iv, he said that the most material incidents in the story happened between 1717-30.

Through the duplicity of one of his workmen, the sheets of these two volumes were sent to Ireland as they were printed, and by December 25, 1741, a pirated edition was ready for sale in Dublin, printed for George Faulkner, George Ewing, and William Smith (*Forster MSS.*, XIV, 3, f. 93, Richardson to Miss Wescomb, July 20, 1753; and *Dublin Journal*, December 22-25). The title-pages, dated 1742, are set up in imitation of Richardson's title-pages (see p. 22). Faulkner, Ewing, and Smith had been concerned with the publishing of the first and second editions of Vols. I and II in Dublin, but Richardson had entered into an agreement with Thomas Bacon whereby the latter might have the rights of publication in Ireland of Vols. III and IV. Richardson had sent Bacon sheets of these volumes, but the pirates proved forehanded, and were ready with their edition before Bacon was. In consequence, Richardson sent Bacon 250 copies of the English edition in order to check the completeness of the pirates' victory (*Grandison*, 1st ed., Vol. VII, p. 441; and Sale, "Sir Charles Grandison and the Dublin Pirates," *Yale University Library Gazette*, VII, 81).

A translation of *Pamela* into French, 4 vols., duodecimo, with imprint "A Londres, chez Jean Osborne . . . M.DCC.XLII." was published shortly after the appearance of Vols. III and IV in English. The translator was the Abbé Prévost(?). It was offered for sale in France before January 12, 1742, when fifty copies were seized at Guerin's. Apparently it was later sold with the tacit consent of the authorities (Henry Harris, *L'Abbé Prévost*, Paris, 1896, pp. 336-337). The price was six livres, stitched. For an earlier publication of a French translation of Vols. I and II, see p. 16.

16. PAMELA, Vols. III and IV.

Second Edition, 1742, 2 vols., 12°. (I have found Vol. III only of this edition.)

VOLUME III

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.8 × 7.3 cm.

Collation: [A]⁴(- A₄), B-S¹² T¹(= A₄?); pp. [iv] + ii + 410.

Contents: Royal license, recto blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; preface, I-ii; text, [i]-410.

Note: The third edition of Vols. III and IV was in octavo (see no. 17). The fourth and fifth editions of Vols. III and IV were in duodecimo (see nos. 18, 19). I have found the third volume only of this second edition and of the fourth edition, but both volumes of the fifth edition are available. An examination of Vol. III of the second, fourth, and fifth edition proves that these are not in fact editions but issues. The sheets of the second edition were reissued for the fourth edition, and again reissued for the fifth. Changes were made in title-pages and the prefatory matter. I think we may safely assume that Vol. IV of the second edition was also reissued as Vol. IV of the fourth and fifth editions. In other words, I believe that in Vol. IV of the fifth edition we may find the text as it appeared with title-pages labelled "second" and "fourth" editions.

P A M E L A;

O R,

V I R T U E Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

F A M I L I A R L E T T E R S

From a Beautiful

Y O U N G D A M S E L to her P A R E N T S:

And afterwards,

In her E X A L T E D C O N D I T I O N,

B E T W E E N

H E R, and Persons of *Figure and Quality*,

U P O N T H E M O S T

I m p o r t a n t and E n t e r t a i n i n g S u b j e c t s.

I n G E N T E E L L I F E.

Published in order to cultivate the Principles of
V I R T U E and R E L I G I O N in the Minds of
the Y O U T H of B O T H S E X E S.

The S E C O N D E D I T I O N, C o r r e c t e d

V O L. I I I.

L O N D O N:

Printed for S. R I C H A R D S O N:


And Sold by J. O S B O R N, in P a t e r - n o t t e R o w; And
J. R I V I N G T O N, in S t. P a u l ' s C h u r c h - Y a r d.

M.DCC.XLII.

This conjecture is confirmed by the condition of the ornament which appears as head-piece on p. 1 of the fifth edition of Vol. IV. It was a head-piece which Richardson used for many years, and as the use increased, it began to show signs of wear. We find it, however, in the fifth "edition," with title-page dated 1754, in much better condition and without the noticeable breaks which show when it was used by Richardson as head-piece in the third edition of *Clarissa*, 1751 (II, 1). This condition could not exist if the fifth edition of Vol. IV of *Pamela* had been printed about 1754.

If Vol. IV were printed in 1742 and reissued as the fourth and fifth editions, then of course the collation and contents may be found in the description of this volume of the fifth edition (see no. 19). A4, Vol. III, may have been used for the title-page, Vol. IV.

In Vol. III, second edition, N5 is unsigned.

 *Publication*: Vols. III and IV, January 30, 1743 (earliest advertisement found); price, 6s. bound (*Daily Gazetteer*). See discussion below.

For data on the Royal License issued for this edition, see under *Publication*, Vols. I and II, sixth edition, no. 10. The fact that this license is dated January, 1742 seems clearly to indicate that Richardson was prepared to publish this edition many months before the demand for it materialized.

THE text of this edition is largely revised. Three letters, appearing in the first edition of Vol. IV (pp. 1-25) were printed at the end of Vol. III, second edition. Consequently, the letters in the first edition of Vol. III are numbered I-XXXIX, while those in the second edition are numbered I-XLII. This shift of the letters was made to secure a more equitable distribution of the text between the two volumes.

The date of publication of the second edition is a matter of some doubt. As I have indicated, the first advertisement found appeared in January, 1743 in the *Daily Gazetteer*—a paper still partially under Richardson's control. But the third edition of Vols. III and IV—the edition in octavo—was published May 10, 1742 (*Daily Advertiser*). It would therefore seem that Richardson printed a third edition in octavo eight months before he published his second edition in duodecimo. I think this quite likely. In December, 1741, the first edition of Vols. III and IV was published; but two months before this he was planning his edition in octavo of the four volumes of the novel (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, ff. 67, 73). For this octavo edition he planned to make many revisions in the text. Consequently he would desire to place in the hands of the purchasers of Vols. I and II in duodecimo a corrected text of Vols. III and IV in similar format. The text of the second edition of Vol. III appears to be the same as that of the third edition of this volume, and I feel certain that if a copy of the second edition of Vol. IV is found, it will be discovered that the text of it is the same as that of Vol. IV, third edition. Richardson probably printed the second and third editions at the same time, planning to publish them in

their proper order; for if he estimated the popular demand for Vols. III and IV on the basis of the popularity of Vols. I and II, he might well have expected the need of a second edition in duodecimo between the publication of the first edition in December, 1741 and the publication of the third edition in octavo in May, 1742.

I suggest that this need did not arise; that, whereas the third edition recommended itself by its new format, it was not until the autumn of 1742 that he began to see the need for publishing his second small paper edition. In November, 1742—five months after the publication of the third edition—Richardson wrote to William Warburton of a “new” edition of these volumes which was “near Publishing” (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 89, November 17). This “new” edition I think was the second edition. “I am Collecting together the Observations . . . of several of my kind Friends in order, if the Piece should happen to come to a future Edition, besides the new one of the 3^d and 4th which is near Publishing, that it might be benefited by their Remarks and that I might have a corrected Copy for the Press.” Warburton replied with the famous criticism of Vols. III and IV made by Alexander Pope, who felt that Pamela might have found the extravagancies of high life as absurd and unaccountable as the Indian would find the polite vices of the European (*Barbauld*, I, 134–135). The second edition was advertised two months after Richardson wrote this letter; and was still being advertised in May, 1743 (*Daily Advertiser*, May 27). With these advertisements for the second edition of Vols. III and IV went the notice that the fifth edition of Vols. I and II and the edition in four volumes, octavo, were still available.

For some inexplicable reason the title-page of Vol. III, “fourth edition” (the second issue of Vol. III, second edition), is also dated 1742 (see no. 18).

A copy of Vol. III is in my library.

17. PAMELA, Vols. III and IV.

Third Edition, First Issue, 1742, 2 vols., 8°. (Published with Vols. I and II, Sixth Edition, First Issue, 8°. See no. 10).

VOLUME III

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 17.1 × 9.1 cm.

Collation: [A]² B–Kk⁸ Ll²; pp. [iv] + 516. (7 leaves of engraved illustrations throughout book).

Contents: Royal license, recto blank, [i–ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii–iv]; text, [1]–516.

Illustrations: The seven engravings are marked to face pp. 11, 94, 161, 228, 361, 377, 451. Hayman designed the plates to face pp. 11, 94, 161, 228, 377; Gravelot designed the remaining two, and made all the engravings. The first illustration, obviously designed by the relation of the drawing to the text to face p. 11, is usually bound to face p. 2.

Note: Three letters, printed at the beginning of Vol. IV of the first edition, were printed at the close of Vol. III in this edition. Consequently the letters of Vol. III are here numbered I–XLII; and those of Vol. IV, I–LXI.

P A M E L A :

OR,

V I R T U E Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

F A M I L I A R L E T T E R S

From a Beautiful

Young DAMSEL to her PARENTS:

And afterwards,

In her EXALTED CONDITION,

BETWEEN

HER, and Persons of *Figure and Quality*,

UPON THE

Most Important and Entertaining SUBJECTS,
In GENTEEL LIFE.

In FOUR VOLUMES:

Published in order to cultivate the Principles of VIRTUE
and RELIGION in the Minds of the YOUTH of
BOTH SEXES.

THE THIRD EDITION, Corrected.

And Embellish'd with COPPER PLATES, Design'd and
Engrav'd by Mr. HAYMAN, and Mr. GRAVELOT.

V O L. III.

L O N D O N :

Printed for S. RICHARDSON:

And Sold by J. OSBORN, in *Peter-after New*; and JOHN
KINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*.

M. DCC. XLII.

Catch-words are missing on pp. 280, 332; catch-word on p. 286 is "OH!" for "O."

VOLUME IV


Title-page: As in Vol. III, with semi-colon instead of colon after "Richardson."

Collation: [A]² B–Ii⁸; pp. [iv] + 496. (8 leaves of engraved illustrations throughout book.)

Contents: Royal license, recto blank, [i–ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii–iv]; text, [1]–491; conclusion, 491–494; Richardson's advertisement to the reader, [495]; booksellers' advertisement, [496].

Illustrations: The eight engravings are marked to face pp. 29, 108, 145, 178, 210, 277, 372, "474.475." All were designed and engraved by Gravelot.

Note: For numbering of letters, see note to Vol. III. The catch-word on p. 295 is correct, but the last word of the text is used as the first word on p. 296.

 *Publication:* Vols. III and IV (with Vols. I and II), May 10, 1742; price £1. 4 bound (*Daily Advertiser*). See under *Publication*, Vols. I and II, no. 10.

FOR certain data concerning this edition, see p. 21.

PAMELA;

O R,

VIRTUE Rewarded.

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Important and Entertaining Subjects,

In GENTLE LIFE.

Published in order to cultivate the Principles of
VIRTUE and RELIGION in the Minds of
the YOUTH of BOTH SEXES.

The FOURTH EDITION, *Corrected*.

VOL. III.

L O N D O N:

Printed for S. RICHARDSON:

And Sold by J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*; And
J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*.

M.DCCXLII.

17A. *PAMELA*, Vols. III and IV.

Third Edition, Second Issue, 1772, 2 vols., 8°. (Reissued with Vols. I and II, Sixth Edition, 8°.)

For this second issue, see no. 11.

18. *PAMELA*, Vols. III and IV.

Fourth Edition, 1742, 2 vols., 12°. (I have found Vol. III only of this edition. It is a second issue of Vol. III, second edition. See no. 16.)

VOLUME III

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.6 × 7.3 cm.

Collation: [A]² B–S¹² T1; pp. [iv] + 410.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; Richardson's advertisement to the reader, [iii]; blank page, [iv]; text, [1]–410.

Note: This is a second issue of the sheets of the second edition, with the three prefatory leaves removed and a pair of conjugate leaves substituted. In the advertisement Richardson explained that he was omitting his original preface (appearing in the first three editions), inasmuch as the four volumes were to be published together in the future and "the Preface to the First will comprehend all that is requisite to be observed in the Prefatory Way."

This announcement would seem to indicate that the "fourth edition" was published with an edition, or issue, of Vols. I and II. It may have been published as Vols. III and IV to accompany a so-called sixth edition of Vols. I and II, duodecimo, 1746 (see no. 12). I cannot account for the fact that the title-page is dated 1742. Though the sheets were printed in 1742, they were being issued as late as May, 1743, with a title-page carrying the phrase "second edition." In 1754, when Richardson reprinted Vols. I and II as the seventh edition, the sheets were again issued, with title-pages carrying the phrase "fifth edition."

For reasons offered in discussing Vol. IV, second edition, I think we may assume that Vol. IV, "fourth edition," will prove to be a second issue.

A COPY of Vol. III is in the Columbia library.

19. *PAMELA*, Vols. III and IV.

Fifth Edition, 1754, 2 vols., 12°. (This is a third issue of the second edition of these volumes. See no. 16. These volumes were published with Vols. I and II, Seventh Edition, 12°. See no. 13.)

VOLUME III

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.1 × 7.2 cm.

Collation: [A] I B-S¹² T I; pp. [ii] + 410.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-410.

Note: This is a third issue of the sheets of the second edition of this volume, with the prefatory material and title-page removed, and a new title-page printed. The second issue is described as no. 18. Letters numbered as in third edition.

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. III, except that the hyphen is omitted in "Church-Yard," and an italic "i" used instead of a Roman in the word "Published."


Collation: [A] I B-T¹²; pp. [ii] + 432.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-429; conclusion, 429-432; Richardson's advertisement to the reader, 432.

Note: For reasons offered in discussing Vol. IV, second edition, I think we may assume that Vol. IV, "fifth edition," is a third issue.

Letters numbered as in third edition. Catch-words missing on pp. 236, 373.

The conclusion (pp. 429-432) and the advertisement (p. 432) are printed in a smaller type than the text, in order to bring the material within the limits of the last sheet.

 *Publication*: Vols. III and IV (with Vols. I and II, seventh edition) presumably published in 1754. I have found no advertisements.

P A M E L A :

O R,

VIRTUE Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

FAMILIAR LETTERS

FROM A

Beautiful Young DAMSEL,

To her PARENTS:

And afterwards,

In her EXALTED CONDITION,

BETWEEN

HER, and Persons of *Figure and Quality*,

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Important and Entertaining Subjects,

In GENTEEL LIFE.

Published in order to cultivate the Principles of
VIRTUE and RELIGION in the Minds of
the YOUTH of BOTH SEXES.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

V O L. III.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JAMES HODGES, near London-Bridge; and
J. and J. RIVINGTON, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

M.DCC.LIV.

PAMELA; **F**OR certain data concerning this edition, see p. 24.

O R,

VIRTUE Rewarded.

In a SERIES of
FAMILIAR LETTERS
FROM A
Beautiful Young **DAMSEL**,
To her **PARENTS**:
And afterwards,
In her **EXALTED CONDITION**,
BETWEEN
HER, and Persons of *Figure and Quality*,
UPON THE MOST
Important and Entertaining Subjects,
In **GENTEEL LIFE**.

Published in order to cultivate the Principles of
VIRTUE and RELIGION in the Minds of
the **YOUTH** of **BOTH SEXES**.

THE EIGHTH EDITION.

V O L. III.

L O N D O N:
Printed for HENRY WOODFALL, JOHN RIVINGTON,
WILLIAM JOHNSTON, JOSEPH RICHARDSON, and
STANLEY CROWDER and C^o.

M.DCC.LXII.

LETTERS

Written TO and FOR
PARTICULAR FRIENDS,

On the most
IMPORTANT OCCASIONS.

Directing not only the Requisite

STYLE and FORMS

To be Observed in WRITING

Familiar Letters;

But How to

THINK and ACT *Justly and Prudently*,

IN THE

COMMON CONCERNS

OF

HUMAN LIFE.

CONTAINING

One Hundred and Seventy-three **LETTERS**,

None of which were ever before Published.

L O N D O N:

Printed for C. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*,
JOSEPH, in *Pater-noster Row*; and J. LEAKE, at *Bath*.

M.DCC.XLI.

20. **PAMELA**, Vols. III and IV.

Eighth Edition, 1762 [pub. 1761], 2 vols., 12°. (This so-called eighth edition is the fourth edition. See note, Vol. III, below. These volumes were published with Vols. I and II, Eighth Edition, 12°. See no. 14.)

VOLUME III

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.1 × 7.3 cm.

Collation: [A]² B-S¹² T¹; pp. iv + 410.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, iii-iv; text, [1]-410.

Note: These volumes were called the "eighth edition" to bring them into general conformity with Vols. I and II, eighth edition, with which they were published. Inasmuch as the second, fourth, and fifth editions of Vols. III and IV were in reality the second edition, first issue, second issue, and third issue, these volumes of the so-called "eighth edition" are the fourth edition. Since the third edition was in octavo, these volumes represent the third reprinting of Vols. III and IV in duodecimo.

The letters are numbered as in the third edition.


VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. III.

Collation: [A]¹ B-T¹²; pp. [ii] + 432.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-429; conclusion, 430-432.

Note: Letters numbered as in third edition.

 *Publication*: Vols. III and IV (with Vols. I and II), October 28, 1761; price, 12s. bound (*Public Advertiser*).

FOR certain data concerning this edition, see p. 25.

21. **THE FAMILIAR LETTERS**.


First Edition, 1741, 12°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.2 × 7.3 cm.

Collation: A⁸ B-M¹² N⁴; pp. [xvi] + 272.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [iii-vi]; contents, [vii-xvi]; text, [1]-272.

Note: H₃ is signed C₃. One copy examined (Harvard) has p. 22 mispagged 21; another copy (Tinker) has p. 270 mispagged 70.

 *Publication*: Registered at the Stationers' Company, January 21, 1741 (*MS. Register*, 1710-1746, I, 536); published January 23, 1741; price, 2s. 6d. bound (*Daily Gazetteer*).

THIS letter-writer originated in the request of Charles Rivington and John Osborn, booksellers, for "a little volume of Letters, in a common style, on such subjects as might be of use to those country readers, who were unable to indite for themselves" (*Barbould*, I, lii [for liii]). Richardson at once inquired if it would not be possible to "instruct them how they should think and act in common cases, as well as indite" (*Barbould*, *loc. cit.*). His two-fold purpose he made clear in the preface of this letter-writer; and in order that the public should be aware of his aims, certain extracts from this preface, slightly modified, were printed with advertisements of the book (e.g. in the *Daily Advertiser*, January 26, 1742). While recollecting such subjects as he thought might be useful for his model letters, Richardson recalled Pamela's story, which he had heard years before, and decided to include one or two letters "as cautions to young folks circumstanced as Pamela was." (*Barbould*, I, lxxiii). While drafting these letters, he became fascinated with the idea of developing Pamela's plight at greater length, and turned from the letter-writer to complete and publish two volumes of his novel, before the *Familiar Letters* was offered to the public. For the fullest discussion of Richardson's letter-writer, see Katherine Gee Hornbeak, *The Complete Letter-Writer in English*, 1568-1800, Northampton, 1935, pp. 100-125.

On January 21, 1741, two days before publication, the *Familiar Letters* was entered at the Stationers' Company in the names of Richardson, Rivington, and Osborn (*MS. Register*, 1710-46, I, 536). But Richardson's connection with the book, either as author or publisher, was not revealed on its title-page. His friend William Webster, editor of the *Weekly Miscellany*, printed a slightly expurgated version of Letter CXLIV (pp. 197-200) in that periodical on January 17, 1741. This version also appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1741 (XI, 34-35).

The first Dublin edition of the letter-writer, carelessly printed from the text of the English edition, was announced by George Faulkner, Irish bookseller and publisher, in his *Dublin Journal*, May 5-9, 1741, at the price of 2s. 2d. Though Faulkner preserved the book's anonymity at publication (either through design or from lack of knowledge), he advertised it seven months later as "By Mr. Richardson, Author of *Pamela*" (*Dublin Journal*, December 22-25, 1741). In 1746, Faulkner advertised that copies of the letter-writer might be purchased for 20d., stitched; 2s. 2d., bound; and for a guinea a dozen by those who desired to give them as presents to tenants or others (*Dublin Journal*, January 11-14). Later in the same year, he published certain of the letters in his newspaper, prefaced by the remark that they were the work of the celebrated author of *Pamela* (Letters VIII, XI, XXXVI, XXXVII, November 25-29; Letters XLIX, LXXVI, December 6-9; Letters LIII, LIV, LV, December 9-13; and perhaps others).

The English edition sold in Edinburgh for 3s. (*Scots Magazine*, III, 48).

22. THE FAMILIAR LETTERS.

Second Edition, 1742, 12°.

I have not seen a copy of the second edition of this work, but advertisements for it, from which I have supplied the date and the

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To be Observed in WRITING

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But How to

THINK and ACT *Justly and Prudently,*

IN THE

COMMON CONCERNS

OF

HUMAN LIFE.

CONTAINING

One Hundred and Seventy-three LETTERS.

The THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:

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J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*;
and J. LEAKE, at *Bath*. M.DCC.XLVI.

LETTERS

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LONDON:

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J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*;
and J. LEAKE, at *Bath*. MDCCCL.

format, appeared in the *Daily Gazetteer*, January 19, 1742, in the *London Evening Post*, January 16–19, and in the *Daily Advertiser*, January 26.

The book was offered for sale at 2s. 6d., bound.

23. THE FAMILIAR LETTERS.

Third Edition, 1746, 12°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.1 × 7.2 cm.

Collation and Contents: As in first edition.

Note: The only copy which I have found is in the Victoria Art Gallery and Municipal Libraries, Bath, England.

Publication: May 10, 1746 (earliest advertisement found); price, 2s. 6d. bound (*General Evening Post*, May 8–10).

THE text of this edition is revised in many places. Whether these changes were made between the first and second editions, or between the second and third cannot be accurately determined until a copy of the second edition is found. Some were probably made, however, between the first and second editions. In Letter CLVI, p. 232, first edition, for example, a reference is made to the fact that there is no monument of Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey. Shakespeare's monument was being erected while the first edition was going through the press; and Richardson took notice of this fact in the third edition (p. 232) by referring to the monument as "lately erected." In all probability this change was first made in the second edition. Certain remarks made about Alexander Pope (p. 230) were softened in the third edition. It would be interesting to know whether this change was made as a result of Pope's death in 1744; or as a result of a change of heart in 1742, when the second edition appeared.

Though Richardson looked upon his model letter-writer as a piece of hack work when his reputation as a novelist became established, he never completely lost interest in it. As his prose style underwent certain modifications, he sought in part to bring the text of this book into conformity with his changing ideas. Many of the alterations were in the interest of elegance.

24. THE FAMILIAR LETTERS.

Fourth Edition, 1750, 12°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.5 × 7.2 cm.

Collation and Contents: As in first edition.

Publication: December 29, 1750; price, 2s. 6d. bound (*General Advertiser*).

STYLISTIC changes were made in the text between the third and fourth editions. For example (p. 167) the phrase "as to you and I" becomes "as to you and me" in the fourth; and (p. 137) the word "Assembly" of the first three editions becomes "Assemblée."

An uncut copy with title-page missing (Columbia) measures 18×10.6 cm.

25. THE FAMILIAR LETTERS.


Fifth Edition, First Issue, 1752, 12°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14×7.2 cm.

Collation and Contents: As in first edition, but with errata note on p. 272.

Note: The only copy of this issue which I have found is in the Library Company, Philadelphia. It lacks the last leaf of the text. The title-page of this issue was cancelled, with the cancellans to be found in the second issue.

L3 is signed K3. On p. 115, l. 31, the sentence "I rung for the Tea-kettle" (correct in the first four editions) reads "I run for the Tea-kettle."

 *Publication:* July 30, 1752; price, 2s. 6d. bound (*General Advertiser*).

AS in the previous revisions of the text, changes were made between the fourth and fifth editions in the interests of style. For example (p. 136), the word "Mantua-makers" of the first four editions becomes "Manteau-makers" in the fifth. A somewhat inelegant passage (p. 220) was first omitted in this edition (see the modern reprint of the *Familiar Letters*, ed. Brian Downs, New York, 1928, p. 251, last entry).

Though anonymity was still preserved in publishing this edition, the name of the author might have been indirectly determined from the advertisements of the work. On December 18, 1753, for example, the *Public Advertiser* advertised the fifth edition as by the same man who had edited *Aesop's Fables* (see no. 1). Richardson had publicly admitted his editorship of the fables as early as 1749.

26. THE FAMILIAR LETTERS.

Fifth Edition, Second Issue, 1752, 12°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.2×7.2 cm.

Note: This issue is in all respects identical with the first issue except that the title-page is a cancellans. Typographical errors of the cancellandum were corrected, and the imprint expanded to include the names of other booksellers, who must have acquired a share in this publishing venture about the middle of the year 1752. Hitch, whose name appears on the cancellandum, went into partnership with Hawes in this year; and the imprint of the cancellans contains the firm name of C. Hitch and L. Hawes (*Plomer's Dictionary*, 1726–1775). The partnership was probably effected just before the book's publication, July 30.

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But how to
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London-Bridge; J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's*
Church-yard; and J. LEAKE, at *Bath*. MDCCLII.

27. *THE FAMILIAR LETTERS.*

Sixth Edition, 1755, 12°.

Title-page: Missing in only copy found.

Collation and Contents: As in first edition.


Note: The only copy of this edition which I have found is in the possession of Miss Katherine Hornbeak of the faculty of Smith College. Though it lacks a title-page, it can be identified as the sixth edition through external and internal evidence.

Miss Hornbeak's copy was the gift of Mr. J. Isaacs, general editor of the *English Library*. It was used by Mr. Isaacs and Mr. Brian Downs as the text for a modern reprint of the *Familiar Letters* in 1928; and its title-page was lost during this process. Both Mr. Isaacs and Mr. Downs, as they maintain in the modern reprint, were certain that they had used the text of the sixth edition—the last to be printed in Richardson's lifetime.

Internal evidence supports this certainty. Textual changes differentiate this text from those of the earlier editions. For example, on p. 6, l. 7, the word "Term" of the earlier editions reads "Time" in this edition; and on the same page, last line, the phrase "worthy of being" has been changed for the first time to read "worthy to be."

This text was clearly set up from the text of the fifth edition. L₃ is signed K₃ in both cases. The errata note on p. 272 of the fifth edition is not present in Miss Hornbeak's copy, but the word to be corrected by this note is retained in its incorrect form.

We may also distinguish this text from that of the seventh edition. On p. 115, l. 31, of both the fifth edition and of this text, the word "run" is incorrectly used for "rung." In the seventh edition, an attempt to correct this error resulted in the substitution of "ran" for "run."

 *Publication:* July 1, 1755 (earliest advertisement found); price, 2s. 6d. bound (*Public Advertiser*).

IF the advertisements may be trusted, the title-page of the sixth edition was changed to read *Letters written to and for Particular Persons*.

The sixth edition had to meet the competition of briskly advertised rivals from 1755 until Richardson's death in 1761. Both during and after his lifetime, many of Richardson's letters were appropriated for use in other letter-writers (Katherine Gee Hornbeak, *The Complete Letter-Writer in English*, 1568–1800, Northampton, 1934, pp. 117–125).

The first posthumously published edition—the seventh—appeared three years after Richardson's death (*Public Advertiser*, April 18, 1764). The title was then first changed to read *One Hundred and Seventy-three Letters written for Particular Friends, on the most Important Occasions. By the late Mr. Richardson, Author of Clarissa and Sir Ch. Grandison*, n.d. The format and collation conform with the lifetime editions. William Richardson, nephew of Samuel and his successor in the printing business,

presumably made the few alterations in the text for the seventh edition. His name appears in the imprint.

28. *A TOUR THRO' GREAT BRITAIN*, by Daniel Defoe, edited by Richardson.

Third Edition, 1742, 4 vols., 12°. (This is the first edition of this work published under Richardson's editorship).

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.6 × 7.6 cm.

Collation: A⁴ B-Q¹² R⁸; pp. viii + 376.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [iii]-viii; text, [1]-356; index, [357-376].

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I, except that a comma is used after "the Course of Rivers"; the line "In Four Volumes" and the rules preceding and following it are omitted; and "And" is used for "With" in the line "With a Copious Index, etc."

Collation: [A]₁ (= S₁₂?), B-R¹² S¹² (- S₁₂); pp. [ii] + 406.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-379; index, [380-403]; booksellers' advertisements, [404-406].

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation: [A]₁ B-O¹²; pp. [ii] + 312.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-270; appendix, with addenda to Vols. I and II, 271-[301]; index, [302-312].


VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation: [A]₁ (= Q₁₂?), B-P¹² Q¹² (- Q₁₂); pp. [ii] + 358.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-328; index, [329-345]; booksellers' advertisements, [346-358].

Note: One copy examined (Trent) has twelve leaves (signature A) bound at the close of the book as described. These leaves are paged from [1]-24. They contain advertisements for books sold by Daniel Browne, whose name appears on the title-page. In all likelihood they were bound in copies sold only by Browne.

 *Publication*: May 1, 1742; price, 12s. bound (*London Evening Post*, April 29-May 1).

THE first edition of Daniel Defoe's *Tour* was published in three volumes in 1724, 1725, 1727; the second edition in three volumes in 1738. Clara Thomson in 1900 (p. 40) and Austin Dobson in 1902 (p. 77) agreed that Richardson's editorship of the *Tour* began with the third edition in 1742; but more recently Brian Downs (p. 14) and Paul Dottin (p. 37) have credited Richardson with the supervision of the second edi-

T O U R
Thro' the Whole ISLAND of
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Divided into
CIRCUITS or JOURNEYS.

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whatever is Curious, and worth Observation;

VIZ.

<p>I. A DESCRIPTION of the Principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Government, and Commerce.</p> <p>II. The Customs, Manners, Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the People.</p> <p>III. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade, and Manufactures.</p>	<p>IV. The Sea Ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers and the Inland Navigation.</p> <p>V. The Publick Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry.</p> <p>VI. The Isles of <i>Wight, Jersey, Guernsey</i>, and the other <i>English and Scotch</i> Isles of most Note.</p>
--	---

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VOL. I.

L O N D O N.

Printed for J. OSBORN, S. BIRT, D. BROWNE, J. HODGES,
A MILLAR, J. WHISTON, and J. ROBINSON.
M DCC XLII.

tion. Certain phrases in the preface to the third edition established the correctness of Thomson and Dobson, although the former certainly had never seen a copy of the second edition. Richardson says in the preface that when "he came to compare the former Edition [the second] with his own Notes and the Maps, he discovered many very material Omissions" (Vol. I, iii-iv). Later, he writes (Vol. I, vii): "But lest it should be imagined, from any thing we have said above, that we have been so ungenerous, as to endeavour to raise a Merit to the present Edition, at the Expence of the former, we shall observe, That the good Reception which the Labours of the Original Author met with in his first Edition, (and which also attended the second, which was printed with very great Additions and Improvements) is no bad Argument of the Value of his Performance." The general tone of the whole preface indicates that a new editor has taken charge.

Under Richardson's editorship, the proprietors determined to spare no expense to make the third edition as complete as the nature of the work would permit. Defoe had not included points of antiquarian interest, and these details Richardson supplied, admitting his indebtedness to William Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 1724. Richardson had learned through Aaron Hill a certain affection for the impoverished Scots who came to London to write, and he extended his sympathies to include their country. The description of Scotland occupies one whole volume of the third edition. This impressed Richardson (Vol. I, iv) as a fitting means of "doing some further Justice to that Country, which has generally been slightly considered by those who know little of it." Benefits afforded the country through the repair of roads and the improvement of harbours and river transportation were noticed in the third edition, with information largely supplied from Acts of Parliament. Richardson had begun printing these Acts as early as 1733 (Public Record Office, *Records of the Exchequer*, T. 53, "Money Books," XXXVII, 218).

In addition to drawing on his own "Observations and Experience," Richardson determined to secure information based on the knowledge of "several curious Gentlemen" (Vol. I, iii), who were especially well informed on particular subjects. His friend Dr. George Cheyne, of Bath, supplied him with accounts of the efficacy of the waters at Bath, Tunbridge, Cheltenham, and Bristol (Vol. I, 181; II, 256, 272, 285). It is from one of Cheyne's letters to Richardson that we learn of this (University of Edinburgh, *Laing MSS.*, III, 356, Letter XXXIX, November 7, 1740): "Mr. [James] Leake told me in his dark confused Manner that a good Friend of mine had desired I would give him some Account of Chittenham Waters to be inserted in a new intended Edition of the Journey through England. I guess you at least to be concerned in it tho' you did not care to be known." Cheyne volunteered to do a description of the waters at Bath, Bristol, and Tunbridge in like fashion. "I will send you two Sheets of this in a few Posts [,] Leake telling me they would not be wanted for a Month. If it be executed on my Plan [,] it will be an useful curious and profitable Work. . . ." From the date of this letter—November 7, 1740—we know that Richardson was engaged in editing the first two volumes of the third edition about two years before publication. On December 13, 1740, Cheyne wrote (*loc. cit.*, Letter XL) that he was then sending "that Paper I promis'd to enlarge your new Edition of Travels thro' England."

With his usual sense of obligation towards the book-buying public, Rich-

ardson promised in the preface (Vol. I, vii) that "all such necessary Alterations and Additions shall, for the future, be printed by themselves, (after the manner of the *Appendix* to Vol. III of this Edition) that the Reader may not be under the Necessity of repurchasing the whole Work." In spite of this promise, however, new editions appeared in 1748, 1753, and 1761.

A manuscript note on the title-page of the first volume, third edition, in the British Museum, states that the additions to the *Tour* were supplied "by Mess^{rs}. Richardson, Kimber, & others." In the memoir of Isaac Kimber, prefixed by his son to a volume of his father's *Sermons* (1756), no mention is made of Kimber's share in the *Tour*, but his son says that Isaac Kimber's literary activities during this period were too numerous and various to mention. In a list of these activities published by another descendant of Isaac Kimber, there is again to be found no mention of his editorship of the *Tour*, but the nature of his literary career suggests that he might well have edited the second edition in 1738 (Sidney A. Kimber, "The 'Relation of a late Expedition to St. Augustine,' with biographical and bibliographical notes on Isaac and Edward Kimber," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXVIII, Part 2, 1934, 90-93).

29. A TOUR THRO' GREAT BRITAIN.

Fourth Edition, 1748, 4 vols., 12°.

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.9 × 7.8 cm.

Collation: A⁴ B-T¹² U⁶; pp. viii + 444.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [iii]-vi; contents, vii-viii; text, [1]-417; index, [418-444].

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: [A]² B-U¹² X²; pp. iv + 460.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; contents, iii-iv; text, [1]-434; index, [435-459]; blank page, [460].

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: [A]² B-O¹² P¹⁰; pp. iv + 332.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; contents, iii-iv; text, [1]-308; appendix, 309-315; index, [316-332].


Note: Five leaves of P signed; A² probably printed with P¹⁰.

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. I, except that commas are used after the words "Curious" and "Seats."

Collation: [A]² B-R¹² S⁴; pp. iv + 392.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; contents, iii-iv; text, [1]-373; index, [374-392].

 *Publication*: Vols. I-IV, July 7, 1748; price, 12s. bound (*London Evening Post*, July 5-7).

A
T O U R
Thro' the Whole ISLAND of
G R E A T B R I T A I N.
Divided into
C I R C U I T S or J O U R N E Y S.
G I V I N G
A Particular and Entertaining Account of
whatever is Curious and worth Observation;
V I Z.
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II. The Customs, Manners, Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the People.
III. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade, and Manufactures.
IV. The Sea Ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation.
V. The Public Edifices, Seats and Gardens.
VI. The Lives of *Wiggle, Foreland, Jersey, Guernsey*, and the other English and Scotch Isles of most Note.
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M.DCC.XLVIII.

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- | | |
|---|--|
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|---|--|

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MILLAR, J. ROBINSON, and J. and J. RIVINGTON.

M.DCCCLIII.

THE text was extensively revised for this edition. In November, 1748, the same group of booksellers who published the fourth edition issued a book of maps to accompany the four volumes of the *Tour*, under the title *Geographia Magnæ Britanniae: or, Ninety Four Correct Maps of all the Counties in England, Scotland, and Wales* (*St. James Evening Post*, November 10–12). It was published in boards and marbled paper for 9s. The maps of England and Wales alone (60 in all) sold separately for 6s.; and those of Scotland alone for 3s. 6d. The advertisements pointed out that these maps were printed on a larger scale than any pocket maps. They measure 14.5 × 16.7 cm.

30. *A TOUR THRO' GREAT BRITAIN.*

Fifth Edition, 1753, 4 vols., 12°.

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.8 × 7.7 cm.

Collation: A⁴ B–R¹² S⁸; pp. viii + 400.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; preface, [iii]–vi; contents, vii–viii; text, [1]–388; index, [389–400].

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I, except that a portion of the text in double column is divided as follows: “The Customs, Manners, Exercises, Diversions, and Em- | ployments, of the People.”

Collation: [A]² B–T¹² U²; pp. iv + 436.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; contents, iii–iv; text, [1]–418; index, [419–435]; blank page, [436].

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: [A]² B–O¹² P¹⁰ (– P¹⁰); pp. iv + 330.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; contents, iii–iv; text, [1]–308; appendix, 309–312; index, [313–330].


Note: Five leaves of P signed; P¹ is a single leaf.

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation: [A]² B–R¹² S⁴; pp. iv + 392.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; contents, iii–iv; text, [1]–371; index, [372–392].

 *Publication:* I have found no advertisement by which to date the publication of this edition. It sold for 12s. bound (*Daily Advertiser*, July 15, 1755).

THE text was extensively revised for this edition.

31. *A TOUR THRO' GREAT BRITAIN.*

Sixth Edition, 1762–1761 [pub. 1761], 4 vols., 12°.

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 15.2 × 7.6 cm.

Collation: A⁴ B-S¹²; pp. viii + 408.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, iii-vi; contents, vii-viii; text, [1]-395; errata note, [396]; index, [397-408].

Note: The four leaves of A of Vol. I were printed with the two leaves of A of Vol. III. The position of the watermarks in one copy (Yale) indicates that these six leaves were probably part of one half-sheet; and if this were the case, probably Q of Vol. III was printed on the other half of the same sheet. Further confirmation is supplied by the fact that in the Yale copy there is an offset of the verso of A₄ of Vol. I on the recto of the title-page of Vol. III.

Vols. I and III are also linked by the fact that the imprints and dates in both are the same. The title-pages of Vols. II and IV are dated 1761 and have three less names in the imprint. I suggest that signatures A, Vols. I and III, were the last leaves to be printed.

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I, except that "Medicinal" begins with a lower case "m," and the imprint reads as follows: "Printed for . . . J. RIVING- | TON, T. LONGMAN, T. LOWNDS [sic], T. CASLON, and | G. KEARSLEY. | [short rule] | M.DCC.LXI."

Collation: [A]² B-T¹² [U]⁸ [X]²; pp. iv + 452.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; contents, iii-iv; text, [1]-431; blank page, [432]; index, [433-449]; blank pages, [450-452].

Note: Signatures A, U, and X (12 leaves) were undoubtedly printed on one sheet. See note, Vol. IV.

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. I, with the omission of the commas after "Employments," and "Palaces."

Collation: [A]² B-P¹² Q⁶; pp. iv + 348.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; contents, iii-iv; text, [1]-330; index, [331-348].

Note: See note, Vol. I.

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. I, with the omission of the commas as in Vol. III, and the change in imprint as in Vol. II.

Collation: [A]² B-R¹² S⁸ T²; pp. iv + 404.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; contents, iii-iv; text, [1]-383; blank page, [384]; index, [385-403]; blank page, [404].

Note: Signatures A, S, and T (12 leaves) were undoubtedly printed on one sheet. The position of the watermarks in one copy (Yale)

TOUR
Thro' the Whole ISLAND of
GREAT BRITAIN.

Divided into
CIRCUITS or JOURNIES.

Containing,

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I. A DESCRIPTION of the Principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Government, and Commerce.</p> <p>II. The Customs, Manners, Exercises, Diversions, and Employments, of the People.</p> <p>III. The Nature and Virtue of the many Medicinal Springs with which both Parts of the united Kingdom abound; particularly those of Bath, Tunbridge, Bristol, Cheltenham, &c.</p> <p>IV. An ample Description of London, including Westminster and Southwark, their Bridges, Squares, Hospitals, Churches,</p> | <p>Palaces, Markets, Schools, Libraries, Shipping in the Thames, and Trade, by means of that noble River, &c.</p> <p>V. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures.</p> <p>VI. The Sea Ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation.</p> <p>VII. The Public Edifices, Seats, and Palaces, of the NOBILITY and GENTRY.</p> <p>VIII. The Cities of Wight, Scilly, Portland, Jersey, Guernsey, and the other English and Scottish Isles of most Note.</p> |
|--|---|

Interpersed with Useful OBSERVATIONS.

Particularly fitted for the Perusal of such as desire to Travel over the ISLAND.

By a GENTLEMAN.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

With very great Additions, Improvements, and Corrections; which bring it down to the End of the Year 1761.

In FOUR VOLUMES.


With an INDEX to each Volume.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for D. BROWNE, T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, A. MILLAR, J. BUCKLAND, J. RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER and C^o. W. JOHNSTON, T. LONGMAN, T. LOWNDES, B. LAW and C^o. T. CASLON, and G. KEARSLEY, 1762.

confirms this. This volume was printed according to the method employed for Vol. II, although the last ten leaves of Vol. II were not signed. As the imprints and dates of Vols. II and IV indicate, these two volumes were probably printed at the same time, and perhaps earlier than Vols. I and III.

 *Publication*: November 9, 1761; price, 12s. bound (*Public Advertiser*).

IN spite of the fact that this edition was published a few months after Richardson's death, the nature of the textual revisions and additions indicates quite clearly that he was acting as editor when the copy was sent to the press. Richardson acknowledges in the preface to this edition (p. v) his particular indebtedness to "a truly valuable, and, we may say, *public-spirited* Work, *The Political Survey of Great Britain*." This was John Campbell's work, advertised as in the press for speedy publication in 1757, but not actually published until 1774 (*London Evening Post*, 30 April–3 May, 1757). Campbell was planning to publish his book by subscription, and it is quite likely that Richardson was to be its printer.

Although neither the name of Defoe nor of Richardson appeared on the title-pages of the first six editions of this work, both names were used on the title-page of the seventh edition in 1769, where it was pointed out that the work was originally begun by the celebrated Defoe and was continued by the late Mr. Richardson, author of *Clarissa*.

The addition of the names of three booksellers to the imprints of Vols. I and III, sixth edition, may perhaps be accounted for by the supposition that Richardson himself owned a share in this work and that it was sold after his death among the three firms. The title-pages to these two volumes are dated 1762, while the others are dated 1761. Richardson died in July, 1761.

CLARISSA. OR, THE HISTORY OF A YOUNG LADY

THE first edition of *Clarissa* was published in three instalments: two volumes in December, 1747; two volumes in April, 1748; and the last three volumes in December, 1748. Richardson regretted that so much time elapsed between the publishing of the instalments, and felt that the sale of the book suffered thereby. A second edition, however, was in demand before the last instalment was completed, and he printed enough copies of Vols. V–VII to accompany both the first and second editions of Vols. I–IV. The second edition, consisting actually of only four volumes, was published in June, 1749, seven months after the publication of the last instalment of the first edition.

The third and fourth editions were published simultaneously in 1751, the third edition being in duodecimo and the fourth in octavo. Another "fourth edition" in duodecimo was published in 1759. Though *Clarissa* did not create the excitement that *Pamela* did, and though the editions were probably not so large and certainly not so numerous, it must be remembered that the work comprised first seven and then eight volumes, and that its price was a significant factor in lessening the sale among those who might have found the price of *Pamela* within their purses.

Clarissa was not responsible, as was *Pamela*, for a flood of critical pamphlets, imitations, and parodies. I have found but one pamphlet occasioned by its publication, the *Remarks on Clarissa*, 1749. This criticism is in frank praise of the novel, presenting only such adverse remarks as might be easily refuted. Edward Moore planned at one time to write a tragic drama on the theme of the novel; but Delany rejoiced with Richardson that the plan was abandoned, inasmuch as Moore had intended to deepen *Clarissa's* devotion to Lovelace. This, Delany wrote, "would have taken off the delicacy and polish of her character" (*Barbauld*, IV, 37). *Clarissa* did not find its way into the English theatre in the lifetime of the author.

In the remarks following the bibliographical descriptions of each edition may be found further information concerning the history of this novel.

32. CLARISSA.

First Edition, 1748 [pub. 1747–1748], 7 vols., 12°.

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.4 × 7.5 cm.

Collation: A⁶ B–O¹²; pp. xii + 312.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; preface, [iii]–viii; account of the characters, ix–xii; text, [1]–312.

Note: Vols. I and II were published together as the first instalment of *Clarissa*.

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: [A]1 (= O12), B–N¹² O¹² (– O12); pp. [ii] + 310. (1 folded leaf, a sheet of music, bound to face p. 50).

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–309; errata note, 309; booksellers' advertisement, [310].

CLARISSA. OR, THE HISTORY OF A YOUNG LADY:

Comprehending

The most Important Concerns of Private Life.

And particularly shewing,

THE DISTRESSES that may attend the Misconduct
Both of PARENTS and CHILDREN,
In Relation to MARRIAGE.

Published by the EDITOR of PAMELA.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson:

And Sold by A. MILLAR, over-against Catherine's-front in the Strand;
J. and J.A. RIVINGTON, in St. Paul's Church-yard;
JOHN OSBORN, in Peter-ngher Row;
And by J. LEAKE, at Bath.

M.DCC.XLVIII.

CLARISSA.
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Published by the EDITOR of PAMELA.

VOL. III.



LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson:

And Sold by JOHN OSBORN, in *Pater-noster-Row*;
ANDREW MILLAR, over-against *Catharine-street* in the *Strand*,
J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*;
And by J. LEAKE, at *Bath*.
M.DCC.XLVIII.

CLARISSA.
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Both of PARENTS and CHILDREN,
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Published by the EDITOR of PAMELA.

VOL. IV.



LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson:

And Sold by JOHN OSBORN, in *Pater-noster-Row*;
ANDREW MILLAR, over-against *Catharine-street* in the *Strand*;
J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*;
And by J. LEAKE, at *Bath*.
M.DCC.XLVIII.

Note: In three copies (Morgan, Tinker, Lowell) an offset of the recto of the title-page may be found on the verso of O11.

B6 is unsigned. Catch-word missing on p. 296; in some copies on p. 89 (B.M., Widener).

The title-pages for Vols. I and II were printed from the same type page, with a change for the volume number.

VOLUME III, first state.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.7×7.5 cm.

Collation: [A]1 (= 1 leaf of a sheet used also for 3 cancellantia and 3 leaves of R, Vol. III; and 4 leaves of A and 1 leaf of R, Vol. IV), B¹² C¹² (\pm C2, C11), D¹² E¹² (\pm E2), F-Q¹² R⁴ (- 1 leaf used for R1, Vol. IV); pp. [ii] + 366.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-366.

Cancels: The cancellantia C2 and C11 (pp. 27-28; 45-46) are conjugate. Inasmuch as the cancellantia for this volume were printed on a sheet with leaves designed for Vols. III and IV, the rectos of C2 and C11, and the remaining cancellans, E2 (pp. 75-76) all have "Vol. III" printed at the bottom.

The cancellanda have not been found.

Note: Vols. III and IV were published together as the second instalment of *Clarissa*. This accounts for the fact that the preliminary and concluding leaves of both volumes and the cancellantia for Vol. III (12 leaves in all) could be printed on one sheet (see Sale, "A Bibliographical Note on Richardson's *Clarissa*," *The Library*, 4th S., XVI, 448-451). See note, Vol. IV.

Catch-word on p. 28 is "But" for "Butt." Catch-word missing on p. 201; in some copies on p. 198 (B.M., Morgan).

VOLUME III, second state.

Note: As in first state, except that the three leaves of a preface, found in the first state of Vol. IV, are to be found between the title-page and the text. (First state: B.M., Tinker; second state: Widener.)

VOLUME IV, first state.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.4×7.5 cm.

Collation: [A]⁴ B-Q¹² R1 (see above, Vol. III); pp. [ii] + vi + 362.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [i]-vi; text, [1]-362; errata note, Vols. III, IV, 362.

Note: See Vol. III. In printing the sheet containing the four leaves of A and the one leaf of R, the type pages were so arranged in the forme that the title-page of Vol. IV was printed conjugately with A4. Richardson, however, intended the preface for Vol. III. Not only does he refer to it as the preface to the "third volume," but he also sent a copy of Vol. III, containing the preface, to William Warburton several days before these volumes were advertised for public sale (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 85; *Barbault*, VI, a fac-

simile letter inserted in a section preceding the index, Warburton to Richardson, April 25, 1748). But to place the preface in Vol. III it was necessary to cut away the title of Vol. IV (printed conjugately), and bind the three remaining leaves between the title-page and text of the third volume. In the uncut Widener copy of Vol. III the title leaf is noticeably longer than the three leaves of the preface. In the Morgan copy, where the preface appears in Vol. III, there is an offset of p. i of this preface on the verso of the title-page of Vol. IV.

From various offsets in Vols. III and IV, I have attempted to reconstruct the make-up of the formes from which this preface was printed (see *The Library*, article cited in note to Vol. III). Obviously the offsets do not correspond in all copies of these volumes. The sheet might have been cut and folded in various ways, and leaves from various printings of this sheet may have found their way into several copies. But in all copies examined it seems clear that the title-page of Vol. III was not printed conjugately with a leaf of the preface.

Catch-word missing on p. 195.

An errata note (p. 362) corrects p. 149, last line from bottom, to read "allowed" for "all owed." In some copies this word is corrected in the text, but the errata note is not removed (Widener).

The title-page was printed in large part from the same type as that used for the title-pages of Vols. I and II, with changes made to bring it into general conformity with the title of Vol. III.

VOLUME IV, second state.

Note: As in first state, except that the three leaves of the preface have been removed.

VOLUME V

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.5×7.5 cm.

Collation: [A]¹ (= 1 leaf of R), B-L¹² M¹² (\pm M⁵ = 1 leaf of R), N-Q¹² R¹² (— 3 leaves, used for A¹, cancellans for M⁵, and A¹ of Vol. VI); pp. [ii] + 378.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-378.

Cancels: The cancellandum M⁵ (pp. 249-250) has not been found.

Note: Vols. V, VI, and VII were published together as the third instalment of *Clarissa*. Economy of paper was practised here as in Vols. III and IV. Offsets in some copies (Morgan, Singer) establish the disposition of the 12 leaves of R.

Catch-word missing on p. 351.

The title-page was printed in large part from the same type as that used for the title-pages of Vols. I, II, and IV.

VOLUME VI

Title-page: As in Vol. V, with a colon instead of a semi-colon after "Church-yard."

CLARISSA.

OR, THE
HISTORY
OF A
YOUNG LADY:

Comprehending

The most Important Concerns of Private LIFE;

And particularly *Bewing,*

*The DISTRESSES that may attend the Misconduct
Both of PARENTS and CHILDREN,*

In Relation to MARRIAGE.

Published by the EDITOR of PAMELA.

VOL. V.



LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson:

And Sold by JOHN OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*;
By ANDREW MILLAR, over-against *Catherine-street* in the *Strand*;
By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*;
And by J. LEAKE, at *North,*

M.DCC.XLVIII.

Collation: [A]1 (= 1 leaf of R, Vol. V), B-D¹² E¹² (± E10), F-K¹² L¹² (— L12), M-S¹²; pp. [ii] + 406.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-405; blank page, [406].

Cancels: The cancellandum E10 (pp. 91-92) has not been found. Offsets in one copy (Morgan) indicate that the cancellans was printed conjugately with the title-page of Vol. VII.

L12 (pp. 239-240) was printed and cancelled. A copy with the leaf cut for cancellation but not removed was in the possession of Pickering and Chatto in 1934. Instead of using a cancellans for the corrected text, Richardson printed the text in revised form on the first leaf of M.

Note: R6 is unsigned. Catch-words missing on pp. 27, 251; catch-word "a" for "as" on p. 267.

In order to compress the text of *Clarissa* within seven volumes, Richardson had to use a smaller size type for most of Vol. VI and for all of Vol. VII. This type begins with Letter XIX, p. 52.

The title-page was printed in large part from the same type as that used for Vol. III.

VOLUME VII


Title-page: As in Vol. V.

Collation: [A]1 B-T¹²; pp. [ii] + 432.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-415; conclusion, 416-424; postscript, 425-432; errata notes for Vols. V, VI, VII, p. 432.

Note: G3 is unsigned. Catch-words omitted on pp. 6, 78, 296, 359, 368. P. 254 is frequently mispagged 54 (paging correct in Harvard Treasure Room copy).

The title-page was printed in large part from the same type as that used for Vols. I, II, IV, V.

 *Publication:* Vols. I and II, December 1, 1747; price, 6s. bound (*London Evening Post*, November 28-December 1).

Vols. III and IV, April 28, 1748; price, 6s. bound (*Daily Advertiser*). Downs (p. 22) gives the date as April 26, but the *Daily Advertiser* carried a large announcement on its front page on April 27, advertising these volumes for publication "tomorrow."

Vols. V, VI, VII, December 6, 1748; price, 9s. bound (*Daily Advertiser*).

THE manuscript of *Clarissa*, unfortunately lost, was completed in its original draft by June, 1744 (*Monthly Magazine*, XXXVI, 418), and in July of that year Aaron Hill wrote to Richardson that it was impossible "after the wonders you have shewn in Pamela, to question your infallible success in this new, natural, attempt" (*Barbauld*, I, 101). Nevertheless, publication was delayed for more than three years, while Richardson discussed the title-page, the preface, and the revision and shortening of the text with his friends, and while he sought on every hand approval for his tragic ending.

The original text, written or transcribed in vellum-bound note books, consisted of about 2,000 pages, with approximately 300 words to the page (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 3, f. 82). At one time Richardson hoped to condense the story so that it might be published in three volumes, duodecimo, of about 450 pages each (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 3, f. 81, Richardson to Hill, January 5, 1747). This hope was abandoned, however, and only enough excisions were made to keep the text of the first edition within the limits of seven volumes. Even this could be accomplished only by printing seven-eighths of Vol. VI and all of Vol. VII in smaller type than that used for the earlier volumes.

Richardson and Hill drafted the following title for the novel a year before publication: "The Lady's Legacy: or, the whole gay and serious Compass of the Human Heart laid open, for the Service of Both Sexes. In the History of the Life and Ruin of a lately celebrated Beauty, Miss Clarissa Harlowe. Including great variety of other lives and characters, occasionally interested in the moving story. Detecting and exposing the most secret arts and subtlest practices, of that endangering species of triumphant rakes called Women's Men, assisted by corrupt and vicious engines of the sex they plot against. Published in compliance with the lady's order on her death-bed, as a warning to unguarded, vain, or credulous innocence." (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 3, f. 65, Hill to Richardson, November 5, 1746). Richardson decided against the *Lady's Legacy* as a title, however, when in his later revisions he made the request for the publication of Clarissa's story originate with Anna Howe. Furthermore, he grew to feel that the word "ruin" in the title would be "too declarative of the Catastrophe" (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 3, f. 81, January 5, 1747). Finally, he objected to the title because of its length. In substituting the title which now appears on the work, he felt that he had thrown the responsibility for the tragedy more upon Clarissa and her family than was done by the *Lady's Legacy*.

On November 19, 1747, Richardson wrote Edward Young that the first two volumes of *Clarissa* had been printed off, and that he would publish in about a fortnight (*Barbould*, II, 24). These volumes were published anonymously on December 1, Richardson apparently retaining the copyright in his own name. In Vol. II, he included verses of an *Ode to Wisdom*, printed as anonymous, but actually the work of the bluestocking, Elizabeth Carter. Immediately after these volumes were published, the *Gentleman's Magazine* (XVII, 585) printed a version of this ode, preceded by a note: "We have had the following beautiful Ode above a year, under an injunction, which was general on all the copies given out, not to print it; but as it has appeared in *Clarissa* with several faults, we think ourselves at liberty to give our readers so agreeable an entertainment, from a correcter copy." I do not know how a copy came into Richardson's possession, but in his second edition of Vol. II he removed the verses, to restore them with Elizabeth Carter's permission, to the third edition.

Vols. III and IV were not published until April, 1748, but before March 30 Colley Cibber had received from Richardson a copy of Vol. III, and had almost finished reading it (*Barbould*, II, 167-168). Cibber, as Downs points out (p. 36), had been thrown into such violent raptures by a sight of the original draft of the novel that he had—or said he had—a vision of Heaven.

Three days before Vols. III and IV were published William Warburton wrote to thank Richardson for the second and third volumes, and spoke of

the preface in Vol. III: "I suppose 2 more will finish the work and to those another advertisement of the same length which you have affixed to these may not be improper [.] This *was* but a general criticism on the *spirits of the Fable*[.] That will afford a more particular examination of the conduct of the work . . . explain the fineness of the moral—and remove that silly objection against the *too tragical catastrophe*" (*Barbault*, VI, a letter in facsimile inserted between the end of the text and the index). Inasmuch as he had only Vols. II and III, his copy of the third volume obviously included the preface, although as I have indicated in describing these volumes, this preface sometimes appears in Vol. IV. Warburton, who was Pope's literary executor and afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, was credited by John Nichols with the authorship of the preface to *Clarissa* in Vol. III or IV, and Ronald S. Crane in 1919 concurred in this ascription (*Literary Anecdotes*, IV, 583; *Modern Philology*, XVI, 495–499. See also *Clarissa*, 3d ed., 1751, I, x). In assigning the preface to Warburton, the letter from which I have quoted has never been cited. Though inconclusive in itself, the extract given and the whole text of the letter give evidence of a more special interest in prefaces than in any other aspect of the novel. I think it not only likely that Warburton was the author of this preface, but that he also assisted directly or indirectly in the preparation of the postscript published in the concluding pages of Vol. VII. Certainly that postscript might be accurately described as "another advertisement," justifying the tragic ending.

On May 10, 1748, Richardson wrote that the sale of *Clarissa* was "pretty quick," but, he added, "I know not whether it has not suffer'd by the Catastrophe's being too much known and talked of . . . I had never, however, designed that the Catastrophe should be known . . . [and] I have so greatly alter'd the two last Volumes, that one half of the Sequel must be new written" (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 1, Richardson to Hill(?), May 10, 1748). Concern over the delayed publication caused Richardson to include a note on p. 362 of Vol. IV: "The Remainder of this Work will be published at once; and that as soon as indispensable avocations will permit." He had also regretted that "a greater distance than was intended" should have occurred between the publication of the first two instalments (*Clarissa*, 3d ed., 1751, I, x).

On September 30, 1748, Edward Birch wrote to the Earl of Orrery that "Mr. Richardson's Sequel to *Clarissa* is in the press" (*The Orrery Papers*, London, 1903, II, 14, as quoted in Frederic T. Blanchard's *Fielding the Novelist*, New Haven, 1927, p. 30). On October 1, Edward Moore, the dramatist, wrote to thank Richardson for a copy of Vol. V, and on November 7, Richardson sent Hill Vols. V and VI (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 17; and XIII, 3, f. 152). The sixth volume, Richardson said, was finished at the press on November 4; and he promised Hill a copy of Vol. VII by November 21. Actual publication was not announced until December 6, 1748.

Exact information as to the size of the edition is not available, but so many more copies of the last three volumes were printed than of the first four, that it was unnecessary to reprint these volumes when a second edition was demanded. In January, 1751, when Richardson was considering a third edition, he wrote: "I have not one book left, nor is there any to be purchased, out of near 3,000, though so bulky a work" (*Barbault*, V,

272). I think we may safely assume that about 3,000 copies of the last three volumes were printed.

The Widener copy, uncut, with pages measuring 18×10.6 cm., is bound in red and blue marbled boards with leather backs. Vol. VII of this copy contains two notes in Richardson's handwriting on p. 267, near the conclusion of Letter LXXVIII, *Mr. Belford to Robert Lovelace, Esq.* In the margin after line 26 is written "what a portion of divine Grace," to be inserted after "bad nature" in the text. And after line 34 is written a long passage, beginning "Now, Lovelace, let me know," and concluding with "who used it." The material of both notes, with slight changes in punctuation and capitalization, is incorporated into the text of the first reprinting of this section of the novel, Vol. VIII, 3d ed., Letter XIX, p. 62.

The rights to the Irish edition were sold by Richardson to George Faulkner for seventy guineas. Faulkner was the most prominent of the Irish booksellers concerned in the piracy of *Pamela* (see p. 29), and Richardson felt that an agreement with him might prevent infringement of his rights by other Dublin booksellers. He did not register *Clarissa* at Stationers' Hall, nor secure a Royal License for it, feeling that direct negotiations with Faulkner would do more to secure him against piracy than either of the inadequate means provided by English law for the protection of the book trade (*Grandison*, 1st ed., 1754, VII, 435; *Barbauld*, V, 195). He supplied Faulkner with the text as it was printed, and the latter was ready to announce his Dublin edition of Vols. I and II, "printed Page for Page with the London-Edition," on December 22, 1747, three weeks after the publication of these volumes in London. They sold for 5s. 5d., bound, and for 4s. 4d., stitched (Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, December 19-22). Vols. III and IV were announced in the *Journal* for May 10-14, selling for the same price as the first two volumes. I have not found the exact date of the publication of Vols. V-VII in Dublin, but on January 25, 1749, Patrick Delany wrote Richardson that he had prevailed upon Faulkner to let him have these volumes before they were published in Ireland, and that he had now finished reading them (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 13). The novel sold slowly in Ireland, and Richardson found some difficulty in collecting the seventy guineas from Faulkner. The latter wanted to compromise with the payment of forty guineas (*Grandison*, 1st ed., 1754, VII, 435).

The English edition sold in Edinburgh for the same price as was charged in London (*Scots Magazine*, IX, 560; X, 208, 616).

33. CLARISSA.

Second Edition, 1749, 4 vols., 12°. (Vols I-IV only reprinted for the second edition. See p. 53).

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.5×7.6 cm.

Collation: a-b¹² B-O¹² P1; pp. xlviii + 314.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; Richardson's advertisement to the reader, iii-iv; names of the principal persons, [v]; contents of Vols. I-VII, [v]-xlviii; text, [1]-314.

Note: O6 is unsigned. Catch-words missing on pp. 194, 285, 299, 302; catch-word on p. 185 is correct, but the compositor has omitted it from the text on p. 186.

CLARISSA. OR, THE HISTORY OF A YOUNG LADY:

Comprehending

The most Important Concerns of Private LIFE;

And particularly shewing,

The Distresses that may attend the MISCONDUCT

Both of PARENTS and CHILDREN,

In Relation to MARRIAGE.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

Published by the EDITOR of PAMELA.

THE SECOND EDITION.

VOL. I.

To which is prefixed,

A TABLE OF CONTENTS to the Whole.

LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson:

And Sold by JOHN OSBORN, in *Peter nether Row*;
By ANDREW MILLAR, over-against *Catherine-street* in the *Strand*;
By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*;
And by J. LEAKE, at *Barb.*

M.DCC.XLIX.

CLARISSA.

OR, THE
HISTORY
OF A
YOUNG LADY:

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And particularly shewing,
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Both of PARENTS and CHILDREN,
In Relation to MARRIAGE.

Published by the EDITOR of PAMELA.

VOL. II.



LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson:

And Sold by JOHN OSBORN, in *Peter nether Row*;
By ANDREW MILLAR, over-against *Catharine street* in the Strand;
By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church yard*;
And by J. LEAKE, at *Rail*.
M DCC XLIX.

VOLUME II

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.3 × 7.6 cm.

Collation: [A]¹(= O¹⁰?), B¹² C¹²(± C¹² = O¹¹?) D-N¹² O¹²(- O¹⁰, I¹, I²; O¹² = A¹ of Vol. III?); pp. [ii] + 306. (1 folded leaf, a sheet of music, bound to face p. 48.)

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-306.

Cancels: Though the cancellandum of C¹² (pp. 47-48) has not been found, I think we may easily determine the reason for the cancellation. At this place in the text of Vol. II, first edition, Richardson printed the verses of an *Ode to Wisdom*, described as "by a Lady." After the first edition was published, the *Gentleman's Magazine* (XVII, 585) printed what was called a more correct version of this ode, with a rebuke to Richardson for having printed the poem without the author's [Elizabeth Carter's] permission. Consequently Richardson cancelled the leaf on which this ode began, and printed (p. 48) a note, explaining the circumstances. He included, however, the folded sheet of music containing the last three stanzas of the ode; and expressed the hope that "the truly ingenious auth'ress" would not "be displeased with the continuing of those, for the sake of the Music, which we will venture to say is set in so masterly a manner as to do credit to her performance, admirable as that truly is." Richardson secured Elizabeth Carter's permission to restore the verses to the third edition.

Note: Because Vols. II and III are not designated as the second edition on the title-page, they are—though dated 1749—occasionally catalogued with Vols. I, IV-VII of the first edition.

Catch-words are missing on pp. 44, 93, 211.

The title-page seems to have been printed in large part from the same type used for Vol. I, etc., of the first edition.

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. II, with an italic colon instead of a semi-colon after "Church-yard."

Collation: [A]¹(= O¹², Vol. II?), B-Q¹² R⁸ [S]²; pp. [ii] + 380.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-380.

Note: D₃ is unsigned. Catch-words are missing on pp. 39, 53, 163, 190, 191, 209, 220, 230, 362. The following typographical errors occur in catch-words: p. 44, "frends" for "friends"; p. 82, "an" for "any"; p. 339, "[inju]rius" for "[inju]rious"; p. 363, "To-morrow" for "To-morrow's."

The title-page seems to have been printed in large part from the same type used for Vol. III, etc., of the first edition.

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. I through first eleven lines. Vol. IV then reads: "[rule] | *Published by the EDITOR of PAMELA.* | [rule] | VOL. IV. | [rule] | The SECOND EDITION. |


[rule] | [ornament] | [double rule] | LONDON: | [etc., as in Vol. I, with the semi-colon omitted after "Strand"; an italic colon instead of a semi-colon after "Church-yard"; and the date printed in smaller capitals than those used for Vol. I].

Collation: [A] 1 B-Q¹² R²; pp. [ii] + 364.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-364.

Note: P. 241 is mispaged 142. N6 is unsigned.

Catch-word on p. 117 "M. No" for "M. Not"; on p. 217 "ter" is correct, but the first syllable on p. 218 is "er."

 *Publication:* June 15, 1749 (advertised as a "new edition"); price, one guinea, bound (*London Evening Post*, June 13-15).

ONLY Vols. I-IV were reprinted for the second edition. When Richardson began the printing of Vols. V-VII of the first edition, he anticipated the demand for a second edition by printing enough of these volumes to accompany the first four volumes of both editions (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 43). Consequently a set of the second edition consists of Vols. I-IV as described, and Vols. V-VII of the first edition.

Three weeks after the publication of the last volume of the first edition, Richardson began considering alterations in the text (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 105, December 27, 1748). He prepared a long table of material alterations and additions for the four volumes of this edition which had to be reprinted (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, ff. 43-44; printed in Erich Poetzsche, *Samuel Richardsons Belesenheit*, Kiel, 1907, pp. 94-96). Solomon Lowe, who read *Clarissa* eagerly as it first appeared, prepared a list of emendations and sent them to Richardson (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 101, May 23 and June 26, 1748). But Richardson heeded Lowe's advice only in small part.

The first edition of *Clarissa* was out of print by March, 1749, four months after the publication of the last three volumes. Richardson's own press was extraordinarily busy at this period with printing contracts for the House of Commons, and he was forced, contrary to his usual procedure, to employ two other presses for the printing of one volume of his second edition (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 3, f. 114, May 16, 1749). The edition was ready by June.

The two prefaces used in the first edition were omitted, and an advertisement to the reader prefixed to Vol. I. The reasons for these omissions were twofold: Richardson said the second edition needed less by way of introduction to the reading public because of the favorable reception accorded *Clarissa's* initial appearance; and pointed out in this advertisement to the second edition that no "material objection" had arisen which was not answered in the postscript in Vol. VII, or which could not be attributed to the fact that the first edition was published in three instalments.

In this same advertisement Richardson explained that the table of contents now added to the first volume had been made elaborate to show the "Connexion of the Whole," and to enable the youthful reader to form a judgment of the blamable and laudable conduct of the characters (I, iii-iv).

Richardson had begun to make what he called a "Compendium" for *Clarissa* in 1746 (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 3, f. 55). If this compendium was the basis for his table of contents, he had not completed it in satisfactory form in time for the first edition, inasmuch as he wrote Hill a month be-

fore the publication of the second edition that all his free moments were being occupied in preparing this table (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 3, f. 114, May 16, 1749).

He made an unusual use of this table. Certain passages in it were printed in italics, because Richardson felt that the material of the passages so distinguished furnished answers to objections made by his critics. Some aspects of the novel were criticized in two issues of the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, containing a continued article by Albrecht Von Haller (XIX, 245-6; 345-49; translated from the *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, XLII, 324-36). In the latter issue the objections were answered in a long and detailed footnote. Dobson (p. 100) felt that this footnote was at least inspired by Richardson; I believe however that one may safely attribute it to him (see no. 55). An entry in the index to the "Clarissa and Grandison Correspondence" in the Forster collection reads: "Observations on the Amsterdam Critic, by Mr. R. from the Magazine, Aug. 1749" (XV, 3, f. 2). This seems clearly to refer to the manuscript or printed text of this footnote, but unfortunately the item itself is missing from the collection. The concluding sentences of this long footnote as printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* refer the reader to the passages in italics in the table of contents of the second edition for further reply to Haller's criticism. Richardson stated in this footnote that he had printed the table separately, so that the purchasers of the first edition might also have a ready means of answering objections. I have not seen the pamphlet but it was apparently merely an offprint of the contents of *Clarissa*, which appeared originally in Vol. I of this edition, pp. v-xlviii. It was published as a six-penny pamphlet, offered for sale on June 15, 1749 (*St. James Evening Post*, June 13-15). Lady Bradshaigh tried to purchase a copy from Rivington's book shop in January, 1750, with no success (*Barbauld*, IV, 329).

Whatever may have been the table's value in this connection, Richardson felt that its inclusion militated against the sale of the book. He wrote to Hill: "I chose to give a little Abstract of the Story, that it might be clearly seen what it was, and its Tendency; and to obviate as I went along, tho' covertly, such Objections as I had heard, (as I have done by the Italicks) altho' I made many Persons Masters of the Story to my Detriment, as to Sale" (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 3, f. 112, July 12, 1749).

In this same month Richardson printed an *Answer to the Letter of a Very Reverend and Worthy Gentleman*, in defense of another bit of criticism of *Clarissa*. Dobson (pp. 101-102) quotes from this defense, describing it as "apparently a very rare Richardsonian pamphlet." I have not seen a copy, but I suspect it was a piece printed for private circulation among Richardson's friends, similar in style and format to the two letters concerning *Grandison* which I have described elsewhere (see no. 46). According to Dobson, there was no title-page, but the letter was dated internally June 8, 1749.

Richardson was undoubtedly referring to this *Answer* when he wrote Aaron Hill that he had printed a defense of the so-called "fire scene" in *Clarissa* for the sake of a few ladies who wanted to be armed against objections to its indelicacy (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 3, f. 112, July 12, 1749). Jane Collier seems to have read this defense, for on July 9, 1749, she wrote to Richardson in high praise of the "fire scene," and mentioned having read a "Letter" on the subject at his house (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 8).

34. CLARISSA.

Third Edition, 1751-1750 [pub. 1751], 8 vols., 12°. (Published simultaneously with the fourth edition, 7 vols., 8°.)

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.3×7.4 cm.

Collation: A⁶ B-O¹² P⁸ Q²; pp. xii + 328.

Contents: Sonnet to the author, recto blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; preface, [v]-xi; names of the principal persons, [xii]; text, [1]-324; contents, 325-328.

Note: A4 is signed. Catch-words missing on pp. 6, 139, 210, 274, 322.

VOLUME II

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.5×7.4 cm.

Collation: B-P¹² Q⁸; pp. 352. (1 folded leaf, a sheet of music, bound to face p. 54.)

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text, [3]-346; contents, 347-351; blank page, [352].

Note: Catch-words missing on pp. 89, 138, 164, 194, 218, 262, 287, 324.

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation: B-P¹² Q⁸; pp. 352.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text, [3]-346; contents, 347-352.

Note: Catch-words missing on pp. 36, 45, 65, 106, 150, 158, 276, 310.

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation: B-R¹²; pp. 384.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text, [3]-375; blank page, [376]; contents, 377-383; blank page, [384].

Note: Catch-words missing on pp. 14, 60, 62, 150, 164, 190, 200, 207, 214, 252, 266, 324, 334, 353, 354.

VOLUME V

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation: B-P¹² Q¹² (- Q12); pp. 358.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text, [3]-353; blank page, [354]; contents, 355-358.

Note: Catch-words missing on pp. 30, 41, 65, 86, 137, 141, 173, 181, 182, 188, 276, 278, 280, 327.

Final letter in catch-words missing on pp. 8, 56, 111.

Catch-word on p. 155 "P i e" for "Pride."

VOLUME VI

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

CLARISSA.

OR, THE
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YOUNG LADY:
Comprehending
The most Important CONCERNS
OF
PRIVATE LIFE.

In EIGHT VOLUMES.

To Each of which is added

A TABLE OF CONTENTS.

The THIRD EDITION.

In which

Many Passages and some Letters are restored from the Original Manuscripts.

And to which is added,

An ample Collection of such of the Moral and Instructive SENTIMENTS interperfed throughout the Work, as may be presumed to be of general Use and Service.

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M.DCC.LII.

CLARISSA.

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M.DCC.L.

Collation: B-T¹²; pp. 432.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text, [3]-424; contents, 425-432.

Note: Catch-words missing on pp. 143, 190, 205, 230, 246, 308, 332, 352.

Catch-word on p. 59 is "lack," but on p. 60 the "l" of "lack" has dropped out, and the "t" of "thing" (the first word in the second line) has been pushed up, so that these words read "tack" and "hing."

VOLUME VII

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation: B-T¹² U⁴ (— U⁴); pp. 438.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text, [3]-428; contents, 429-437; blank page, [438].

Note: Catch-words missing on pp. 12, 39, 43, 100, 110, 117, 126, 128, 138, 144, 174, 204, 244, 281, 282, 294, 378, 406, 407.


VOLUME VIII

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation: B-R¹² S⁸; pp. 400.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text, [3]-250; conclusion, 251-276; postscript, 277-299; verses to the author, 300-303; contents, 304-308; a collection of sentiments from *Clarissa*, [309]-396; table to the sentiments, [397]-398; bookseller's advertisement, [399-400].

Note: Catch-words missing on pp. 39, 136, 137, 165, 325, 346.

 *Publication:* April 20, 1751 (advertised with 4th ed., 8° as "two new editions"); price, £1. 4 bound (*General Advertiser*).

THREE months after the publication of the second edition, Richardson began the revision of the text of *Clarissa* for a third edition, if it should be demanded. In September, 1749, at the suggestion of John Conybeare, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and later Bishop of Bristol, Richardson prepared an addition to the *Conclusion*, in order to make doubly clear that the Harlowe family had recognized the excellence of their daughter (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 38; *Clarissa*, VIII, 251-254). In the spring of the following year, he was urged to make the stories of "those Sisters in iniquity," Sally Martin and Polly Horton, a part of the third edition. This was also added to the text of the *Conclusion* (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 39, verso; *Clarissa*, VIII, 257-271). For a discussion of the accidental omission of two lines from the *Postscript* (Vol. VIII, p. 298), see p. 59.

By May, 1750, Richardson had received information from his booksellers that the second edition was nearly sold out, and he began the printing of two new editions, one in duodecimo and the other in octavo. Of the latter edition he wrote: "I intend at the Desire of Several Friends, to print an Octavo one; a small Number, however; for the Work is too voluminous to be every one's Price." (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 85, to D. Graham, King's College, Cambridge, May 3, 1750). This edition in large paper

was a companion set to the sixth edition of *Pamela*. The text for both editions was largely revised and added to. "I intend to restore a few Letters, and not a few Passages in different Places of the Work, long as it already is (by particular Desire)," Richardson wrote, "and shall distinguish the additions by brevial [brevier?] *Full-Points*, as we call them, or Dots, in the manner of turn'd Commas. Instead of prefixing, as in the Second Edition, the whole Contents, I think to add to each Volume, its particular Contents, which will serve . . . for an Index to point to the most material Passages in the Volume" (*Forster MSS.*, *loc. cit.*). Fault having been found with the smallness of the type in Vols. VI and VII of the earlier editions, Richardson used a uniformly larger type for the third edition.

The prefaces of the first edition and the advertisement of the second edition were omitted from these new editions, and a new preface was prepared. Richardson explains (3d ed., I, x) that these earlier prefatory remarks were occasional. They were designed to meet certain criticisms of the novel, anticipated or expressed, and presumably he felt these particular criticisms no longer cogent. He also points out in his new preface that, in prefixing the whole table of contents to the first volume of the second edition, he had "in some measure anticipated the Catastrophe, and been thought to detain the Reader too long from entering upon the History."

Richardson planned to publish the third edition in 1750. This date appears on the title-page of all volumes except the first. The decision to publish both third and fourth editions simultaneously must have been responsible for the delay, for Richardson disapproved of the practice of issuing editions in octavo and then cheapening their value by issuing editions in duodecimo. Furthermore, he wanted the edition in octavo for his personal friends, and would not care to have an edition offered to the public before he was prepared to distribute his gift copies.

By June 4, 1750, at least two volumes of the third edition were printed, since on that date he wrote to Susannah Highmore: "You'll not forget to make my respectful compliments to Miss C[arter]; and obtain for me her consent, if she has no objection, to the inserting her charming Ode upon Wisdom in the new edition, now printing, at length; the last edition having only the three last stanzas, as set to music. I have done it, [II, 51-54] but will cancel it, if insisted on." (*Barbauld*, II, 236-237). Elizabeth Carter gave her sanction and the verses were not cancelled in the second volume. (For further discussion of these verses, see pp. 49, 52). Since the third edition was set up in large part from a printed text, the omission of such an unusually large number of catch-words can be explained. These irregularities in the third edition are of assistance in distinguishing it from the fourth edition in duodecimo, printed page for page from this edition, and published in 1759.

The sonnet, printed to face the title-page of Vol. I, was written by Thomas Edwards (*Barbauld*, III, 4-6, letters dated 1750 O.S. See also Thomas Edwards, *The Canons of Criticism*, 1758, p. 302).

The verses, *To the Author of Clarissa* (VIII, 300-303), were written by John Duncombe (Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, IV, 584). Richardson wrote to Miss Mulso: "But think you, Madam, that a scribbler must not be vexed, to find that the events of seven tedious volumes are pathetically comprised in a copy of verses of one hundred lines?" (*Barbauld*, III, 161, July 13, 1750). For details concerning the *Collection of Sentiments* (VIII, 309-96), see p. 95.

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M.DCC.LL

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M.DCC.LL

Though the third edition was not published until April, 1751, it was in private circulation earlier. It is to the edition either in duodecimo or octavo that Lady Bradshaigh refers when she is expecting *Clarissa* "in her new dress" on March 5, 1751; and Samuel Johnson, March 9, 1751, wrote Richardson that he "was glad to see her improved in her appearance, but more glad to find that she was now got above all fears of prolixity, and confident enough of success to supply whatever had been hitherto suppressed" (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 21; *Barbault*, V, 281).

"For the sake of doing Justice to the purchasers" of the first and second editions, Richardson issued with his two new editions a single volume in duodecimo, *Letters and Passages Restored* (*General Advertiser*, April 20, 1751). This volume included all the additional material appearing for the first time in the editions of 1751. For a description of this book, see no. 37.

35. CLARISSA.

Fourth Edition, 1751, 7 vols., 8°. (Published simultaneously with the third edition, 8 vols., 12°. A "fourth edition," 8 vols., 12°, was published in 1759).

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 17.1 × 8.8 cm.

Collation: πI [A] I a⁴ B-Cc⁸ Dd⁴ [Ee]²; pp. [ii] + x + 412.

Contents: Sonnet to the author, recto blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [iii]-ix; names of the principal persons, [x]; text, [1]-405; contents, 406-412.

Note: The final letter in "Church-yard" in the imprint of the title-page failed to print in some copies. This letter is present in a presentation copy in the Harvard Treasure Room, but no mark of punctuation follows the word; the letter is missing in the B.M. copy.

In the B.M. copy the single leaf carrying the sonnet is so bound that its blank recto faces p. x, and its verso faces the first page of the text. In this copy a portrait of Richardson has been pasted on a leaf of end-paper, to face the title-page.

The leaf of music, printed as a folded leaf and placed in Vol. II of the first three editions, is rendered unnecessary in this edition by printing the music on p. 362 of Vol. I.

Many catch-words are missing in this volume and in subsequent ones, but I have not listed the omissions, inasmuch as this is the only lifetime edition of *Clarissa* printed in octavo.

The signature marks for "a" are enclosed within square brackets.

VOLUME II

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.5 × 8.8 cm.

Collation: [A] I B-Dd⁸ Ee⁴ (-Ee⁴); pp. [ii] + 422.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-414; contents, [415]-422.

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. II, with the omission of the line "In Seven Volumes." and of the rule following it.

Collation: [A]1 B-Cc⁸ Dd⁸ (- Dd8); pp. [ii] + 414.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-404; contents, 405-414.

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. III.

Collation: [A]1 B-Cc⁸ Dd⁸ (- Dd8); pp. [ii] + 414.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-405; blank page, [406]; contents, 407-413; blank page, [414].

Note: Beginning with this volume and continuing through Vol. VII, the volume number and letter number are given in the running headline.

VOLUME V

Title-page: As in Vol. III, with a change in ornament, and an italic colon instead of a semi-colon after "Church-yard".

Collation: [A]1 B-Dd⁸; pp. [ii] + 416.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-407; blank page, [408]; contents, 409-416.

VOLUME VI

Title-page: As in Vol. III.

Collation: [A]1 B-Dd⁸ Ee1; pp. [ii] + 418.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-407; contents, 408-418.

Note: U3 is unsigned.

VOLUME VII

Title-page: As in Vol. III.

Collation: [A]1 B-Aa⁸ Bb⁸ (\pm Bb1), Cc-Ff⁸ Gg²; pp. [ii] + 452.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-322; conclusion, 323-347; postscript, 348-370; verses to the author, 371-373; contents, 374-382; collection of sentiments from *Clarissa*, [383]-450; table to the sentiments, 451-452.

Cancels: The cancellandum of Bb (pp. 369-370) has not been found, but the condition of the text at this point may account for the cancellation.

A portion of the text at the bottom of p. 368 and at the top of p. 369 (the recto of the cancellans) does not appear in the first and second editions. The passage is included for the first time in the third and fourth editions, which were being printed simultaneously. At this point in the third edition parts of two sentences were omitted, and it was probably with a desire to restore these omitted parts that Richardson made the cancellation in the fourth

edition. I give below the passage as it should have appeared in the third edition (VIII, 298), with the omitted parts enclosed within brackets:

She was very early happy in the conversation-visits of her learned and worthy Dr. Lewen, and in her correspondencies, not with him only, but with other Divines mentioned in her last Will. Her Mother was, upon the whole, a good woman, who did credit to her birth and her fortune; [and was able to instruct her in her early youth: Her Father was not a free-living, or free-principled man;] and *both* delighted in her for those improvements and attainments, which gave her, *and them in her*, a distinction that caused it to be said, that when she was out of the family, it was considered but as a common family.

It will be noticed that, with the bracketed passage omitted, the antecedents of the word "both" are Dr. Lewen and Clarissa's mother. Though grammatically correct, this is clearly not the intention of the author. With the bracketed passage included, the antecedents of "both" are Clarissa's father and mother—a reading obviously demanded by the context.


The bracketed passage appears in the fourth edition, and the explanation of the cancellation would be perfectly clear, had not a mistake occurred in Richardson's printing office. The text at the bottom of p. 368 (the verso of Aa8) reads: "She was very early . . . free-principled man;" with the period omitted after the phrase "in her last Will". The catch-word is "and", as it should be. But the text at the top of p. 369 (the recto of the cancellans) begins to repeat a portion of the text at the bottom of p. 368. It begins with the phrase "in her correspondencies," and proceeds to reproduce the text as it read in the third edition, with the omission of the bracketed passage.

It is impossible to be sure what caused this condition, but we may reconstruct a reasonable hypothesis. The fact that the error occurs between the last page of Aa and the first page of Bb may help to account for the state of the text. When Richardson discovered the omission, he removed the last two lines of type from p. 368, placed a comma instead of a semi-colon after "fortune," and added the bracketed passage, which just fills the two lines of type at the bottom of this page. The text at the top of p. 369 would now require correction, inasmuch as the two lines removed from p. 368 would now have to be placed at the top of p. 369. We must assume for some reason that cancellation was required to make this change. Perhaps a number of impressions of the sheet with signature Bb on it had already been made. When the type page for the recto of the cancellans was prepared, the compositor may have added seven lines from the bottom of p. 368 instead of the two lines which were required. The seventh line from the bottom of p. 368 begins with the phrase appearing in the first line

of the cancellans. A few typographical changes were made in the five lines of text common to the two pages.

Until the discovery of the cancellandum, this hypothesis may serve as one possible explanation of what took place in Richardson's shop.

The text of this passage follows that of the third edition in *Letters and Passages Restored to Clarissa*, 1751, p. 210 (see no. 37).
Note: The catch-word on p. 419 is "The" for "Little."

 *Publication:* April 20, 1751 (advertised with 3d ed., 12°, as "two new editions"); price, £1. 15 bound (*General Advertiser*).

FOR data concerning this edition, see the discussion which follows the description of the third edition, p. 56.

An amusing incident arose out of Richardson's gift of a set of the fourth edition to the wife of Pope's literary executor, William Warburton. In Vol. I, p. 322, Richardson had written: "Have we not, in the case of a celebrated Bard, observed, that those who aim at more than their due, will be refused the honours they may justly claim?" He was thus obliquely attacking Pope by suggesting that Pope had celebrated the merits of his edition of Shakespeare at the expense of Theobald's edition (*Forster MSS.*, XII, 1, f. 158). Warburton was under the delusion that this remark appeared for the first time in the fourth edition, and translated the generosity behind Richardson's gift into the desire gratuitously to insult Pope's executor. Richardson relates the incident of the resulting snub which he received from Warburton (*Barbault*, III, 60-61). As a matter of fact the passage appears in the first, second and third editions (Vol. II, 11, in 1st and 2d ed.; Vol. II, 13, in 3d ed.).

36. CLARISSA.

Fourth Edition, 1759, 8 vols., 12°. (A fourth edition in 7 vols., 8°, was published in 1751. See no. 35.)

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.5 × 7.4 cm. In some copies (Harvard) the hyphen in "Church-yard" is barely perceptible.

Collation and Contents: As in third edition, except that page v is paged.

Note: A4 is not signed. Catch-words omitted as in third edition, and on p. 321. The head-piece on p. ii (above the sonnet) is turned upside down.

VOLUME II

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.5 × 7.4. In some copies (Harvard, Boston Public) the hyphen in "Church-yard" failed to print.

Collation and Contents: As in third edition.

Note: Catch-words omitted as in third edition except on pp. 89, 194.

CLARISSA.

OR, THE
HISTORY
OF A
YOUNG LADY:
Comprehending
The most Important CONCERNS
OF
PRIVATE LIFE.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

The FOURTH EDITION.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson :

by { C. HITCH and L. HAWES, in *Peter-ngher Row*;
A MILLAR, over against *Catherine-street* in the *Strand*;
JOHN RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*;
J. RIVINGTON and J. FLETCHER, in *Peter-ngher Row*;
And by J. LEAKE, at *Bath*.

M. DCC. LIX.

CLARISSA.

OR, THE
HISTORY
OF A
YOUNG LADY:

Comprehending

The most Important Concerns of Private LIFE.

And particularly shewing,

The Distresses that may attend the MISCONDUCT
Both of PARENTS and CHILDREN,

In Relation to MARRIAGE.

VOL. II.

The FOURTH EDITION.



LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson :

And Sold by { C. HITCH and L. HAWES, in *Peter-ngher Row*;
A MILLAR, over against *Catherine-street* in the *Strand*;
JOHN RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*;
J. RIVINGTON and J. FLETCHER, in *Peter-ngher Row*;
And by J. LEAKE, at *Bath*.

M. DCC. LIX.

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. II. In some copies (Harvard) the hyphen in "Church-yard" failed to print.

Collation and Contents: As in third edition.

Note: Catch-words omitted as in third edition except on p. 310; omitted in fourth edition but not in third on p. 259.

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation and Contents: As in third edition.

Note: Catch-words omitted as in third edition, except on pp. 164, 190, 252, 266.

P. 151 is mispaged 15.

VOLUME V

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation and Contents: As in third edition.

Note: Catch-words omitted as in third edition, except on pp. 137, 141, 173. Final letter missing in catch-word on p. 8, as in third edition.

P. 171 is mispaged 17.

In one copy (Yale) the catch-word on p. 3 is preceded by a square bracket.

VOLUME VI

Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation and Contents: As in third edition.

Note: Catch-words omitted as in third edition, except on pp. 230, 352.

P. 197 is mispaged 19; p. 264 is mispaged 24.

From pp. 26-48 the volume number in the running headline is 5 instead of 6.

VOLUME VII

Title-page: As in Vol. II. In some copies (Boston Public) the hyphen in "Church-yard" failed to print.

Collation and Contents: As in third edition.

Note: Catch-words omitted as in third edition, except on p. 12; omitted in fourth edition but not in third on pp. 143, 209, 329.

VOLUME VIII


Title-page: As in Vol. II.

Collation: B-N¹² O¹² (— O¹¹, 12); pp. 308.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text, [3]-250; conclusion, 251-276; postscript, 277-299; verses to the author, 300-303; contents, 304-308; note explaining the omission of the sentiments and moral reflections, 308.

Note: Catch-words omitted as in third edition.

The sentiments were omitted from this edition because they were published in 1755 in a volume containing the sentiments from Richardson's three novels (see no. 47).

 *Publication*: No advertisements found.

DURING the decade of the 1750's Lady Bradshaigh made many notes in the margins of her copy of *Clarissa*; and Richardson accepted or rejected her suggestions by making a number of entries in the same set. The Bradshaigh copy was in the possession of William Alexander Mackinnon, of Acryse Place, Kent, in the nineteenth century, and may still be in the library of his son, Francis Alexander, of Drumduan, Forres, Morayshire (*Notes and Queries*, 5 S. VIII, 101). I have not attempted to consult it, since it was not used for this fourth edition of *Clarissa*, the last to be published in the lifetime of the author. Lady Bradshaigh sent her set to Richardson in March, 1761; and it was returned to her after Richardson's death, July 4, 1761. He was revising *Pamela* in 1760-1761, and may have intended to make some corrections in the text of *Clarissa*. The fifth edition was not published, however, until three years after Richardson's death. It was in eight volumes, dated 1764.

Lady Echlin, sister of Lady Bradshaigh, wrote a long version of an emended *Clarissa*, which she sent to Richardson in 1755. This was described and offered for sale by G. Michelmores and Co., Catalogue No. 12, pp. 59-62. In her version, Lady Echlin reformed Lovelace, but had him die after a long illness. Richardson suggested that, inasmuch as Lady Echlin had spared Lovelace his capital crime of seducing *Clarissa*, she might let him live to become a governor of one of the American colonies!

37. LETTERS AND PASSAGES RESTORED TO CLARISSA.


First Edition, 1741, 12°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.7 × 7.6 cm.

Collation: π² A⁴ B-N¹² O⁸; pp. [iv] + viii + 304.

Contents: Sonnet to the author, recto blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; prefaces to the third edition and to the fourth edition, [i]-vii; blank page, [viii]; text, [1]-211; verses to the author, 212-215; blank page, [216]; collection of sentiments, [217]-302; table to the sentiments, [303]-304.

Note: Offsets in one copy examined (Tinker) confirm the reasonable supposition that signature A was originally one-third of the sheet on which signature O was printed.

 *Publication*: This volume was published simultaneously with the third edition in duodecimo and the fourth edition in octavo of *Clarissa*, April 20, 1751 (*General Advertiser*).

ONLY one edition of this work was published. It contains the material omitted from the first two editions of *Clarissa*. These passages were restored to the novel in the third and subsequent editions, and the book

LETTERS and PASSAGES

RESTORED

From the Original Manuscripts

OF THE

History of CLARISSA.

To which is subjoined,

A Collection of such of the Moral and Instructive SENTIMENTS, CAUTIONS, APHORISMS, REFLECTIONS and OBSERVATIONS contained in the History, as are presumed to be of general Use and Service.

Digested under Proper HEADS.

Published for the Sake of doing Justice to the Purchasers of the TWO FIRST EDITIONS of that Work.

L O N D O N :

Printed for S. Richardson :

And Sold by JOHN OSBORN, in Peter-may's Row;
By ANDREW MILLAR, over-against Carbone's-Arrest in the Strand;
By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in St. Paul's Church-yard;
And by J. LEAKE, at Bath,
M.DCC.LI.

was published for the use of the purchasers of the earlier editions. For a more detailed discussion of its contents, see my notes following the description of *Clarissa*, third edition (p. 56).

MEDITATIONS 38. MEDITATIONS OF CLARISSA.

Collected from the

SACRED BOOKS;

And Adapted to the

Different Stages of a Deep DISTRESS;

Gloriously furnished by

PATIENCE, PIETY, and RESIGNATION.

Being those mentioned in the HISTORY of CLARISSA
as drawn up by her for her own Use.

To Each of which is prefixed,

A Short HISTORICAL ACCOUNT,
Connecting it with the STORY.



L O N D O N :

Printed for { J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row* ;
ANDR. MILLAR, in the *Strand* ;
J. & J. RIVINGTON, near *St. Paul's* ; } MDCCL.
And JAMES LEAKE, at *Bath*.

First Edition, 1750, 8°.

Title-page: Reproduced. (See note below.)

Collation: π² A⁴ B–E⁸ F⁴ G²; pp. [iv] + viii + 76.

Contents: Half-title, verso blank, "[rule] | MEDITATIONS | Collected from the | SACRED BOOKS. | [rule];" [i–ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii–iv]; Richardson's advertisement to the reader, i–v; preface, vi–viii; text, 1–76.

Note: I have been able to locate only two copies of this book. The one from which this description is made is in the possession of Victor Rothschild, Merton Hall, Cambridge; and I am indebted to him for a photostatic copy of the book, and for the collation. The leaves of this copy measure 17.8 × 11.1 cm. No watermarks can be found. The chain lines are vertical.

Publication: I have found no record of the publication of this volume. It seems likely that Richardson used the entire issue as gifts for his friends. The available evidence is presented in the discussion below.

ON December 16, 1749, Lady Bradshaigh wrote to Richardson: "The meditations you design to print, I should be glad to see published; . . . and as you say they are connected with the history, it is pity the public should not be obliged with them." (*Barbould*, IV, 307.) The book was printed but not published by July of the following year, for on the fourteenth Mrs. Donnellan wrote to thank Richardson for a gift copy (*Barbould*, IV, 7–8). His friends continued to urge him to publish the book (*Barbould*, IV, 27, September 24, 1750), but on October 19, 1750, he wrote to Mrs. Chapone that he had "not yet published the Meditations," but she might command two or three more copies if she so desired (*Forster MSS.*, XII, 2, f. 6). On November 24, 1750, Mrs. Chapone asked for a gift copy for a friend, who had been surprised to find that the book was not obtainable from bookshops (*Forster MSS.*, XII, 2, f. 15). Considering the extreme rarity of this item, I am inclined to believe that it was never actually published, though there is definite indication in the advertisement to the reader that Richardson had prepared the way for a public sale.

The preface to the work is signed by Clarissa Harlowe and many of the meditations are adapted to her distresses arising from incidents in the fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes of the novel. Four of the thirty-six meditations were printed in the novel itself. In Clarissa's will, the transcription of these meditations was bequeathed to Mrs. Norton. In order that the reader, unfamiliar with the novel, might understand the application of these scriptural passages, Richardson prefixed to most of them a résumé of the situation in the story for which the passages afford solace.

THE HISTORY OF SIR CHARLES GRANDISON

Bibliographical and historical problems arising out of the printing and publishing of the first edition of *Sir Charles Grandison* can best be recognized and solved after a review has been made of the story of the book from the printing of the first volume until the last volume was offered for public sale. Such an examination of the pertinent facts will enable the reader to approach the bibliographical description of the first three editions with greater ease and with greater profit. For this reason I have chosen to preface my descriptions of the books with a summary of these facts.

Richardson planned to publish simultaneously an edition of *Grandison* in duodecimo and an edition in octavo, bringing out each edition in instalments of two volumes. He decried the practice of publishing first an edition in octavo, and then depreciating it by the publication of a cheaper edition (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 29). The text of his octavo edition, however, is a revised one; and by the time he was ready to print the title-page of the last volume of the large paper edition, he had decided to call it the second edition. This fact has caused much confusion in the description of Richardson's novel in booksellers' catalogues.

He hoped to proceed leisurely with the printing and publication of his third novel and to circulate volumes among his friends before publication. His friends, sensitive to this privilege, would surely reward him with a meed of praise before his book was offered to the public. On June 6, 1753, five months before the first volume was published, Colley Cibber wrote: "The delicious meal I made of Miss Byron on Sunday last [June 3] has given me an appetite for another slice of her, off from the spit, before she is served up to the public table" (*Barbauld*, II, 176). Though the context of this passage suggests that Cibber had heard Harriet Byron's story from Richardson's reading of it, I think we may assume that he was reading from the printed sheets. In any case, as early as June 23, 1753, Lady Talbot wrote to thank Richardson for the first volume, and expressed her "extreme impatience to be further acquainted with those Persons to whom he has done her the honour and pleasure of introducing her" (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 4, f. 3). On July 6, Lady Talbot thanked him for the second volume; in August he advised her that the third and fourth volumes were almost completed at the press. "If Her Ladiship has the Curiosity to see them before Publication," he wrote, "He will receive her Ladiship's Commands," confident that the volumes will not be allowed out of Lady Talbot's hands (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 4, ff. 4, 5). But two events—one of primary importance—disturbed his leisurely program.

In the summer of 1753 a novel called *Memoirs of Sir Charles Goodville and his Family, in a Series of Letters to a Friend* was published; and Richardson, believing this might be mistaken for his third novel, determined to have two volumes of both editions of *Grandison* ready for publication by September or October. But that which most seriously sent his plans awry was the threatened piracy of his work in Dublin (Sale, "Sir Charles Grandison and the Dublin Pirates," *Yale University Library Gazette*, VII, 80-86; and *Grandison*, 1st ed., VII, 424-442).

As he had done in the case of *Clarissa*, Richardson entered into an agreement, July 12, 1753, with George Faulkner of Dublin, providing that

Faulkner might have the Irish rights to his novel, in consideration of seventy guineas. In the latter part of July, Richardson sent Faulkner four sheets of the novel. They arrived on August 3, and Faulkner at once announced that he had the work in the press. The bomb then exploded. Three booksellers in Dublin, Peter Wilson, John Exshaw, and Henry Saunders advertised on the following day—August 4—that they were engaged in printing an edition of *Grandison*. Faulkner immediately warned Richardson, and asked him to send no more sheets of the novel, since he would have to seek some sort of compromise arrangement with the pirates. Later he told Richardson that Exshaw and Saunders had the sheets of the first two volumes in duodecimo, and that Saunders had the same amount in octavo. The Irish edition, when finally printed, was in duodecimo, but its text was that of Richardson's octavo edition.

Richardson brought his relations with Faulkner promptly to an end, and continued to accuse the latter, at least in part unjustly, of allying with public enemies at the expense of the rights of private property. At once he began a flurry of activity in London to the end of exposing his enemies and circumventing insofar as possible their aims. After examination at his warehouse, he estimated that the pirates had sheets of the first five volumes, three or four sheets of the sixth, and about half of the seventh; but as events proved, they had the text of six volumes, and Richardson was able to forestall them with the seventh volume only.

He immediately changed his plans of publication and wrote and published a broadside, dated September 14, 1753, setting forth the facts of the case and calling for justice. This pamphlet, *The Case of Samuel Richardson, of London, Printer, with regard to the Invasion of his Property*, was distributed gratis (see no. 44); and when arrangements were later made with Robert Main, a Dublin bookseller, for the sale of his English edition in Ireland, Richardson supplied Main with copies of this broadside to distribute in Dublin. An eight page pamphlet, *The Case of Samuel Richardson against the Dublin Pirates*, Dublin, October 18, 1753, was written and published, allegedly by George Faulkner, who on October 20 sent Richardson a letter in which he repudiated the acts of the pirates and stated that he would have no share in the fraudulent edition (*Grandison*, 1st ed., VII, 439). On November 3 Faulkner published a defense of his own conduct in his *Dublin Journal*. But the *Dublin Spy* during October began an attack on Richardson and a defense of all Irish piracy (see particularly the issue of November 5). The English press during the same month came valiantly to Richardson's defense (*Gentleman's Magazine*, XXIII, 465 *et seq.*; and *Gray's Inn Journal*, October 13, 1753).

During October Richardson was carrying on negotiations in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the actual publication of the Irish edition. On October 27 he was advised by a friend in Dublin that the pirates had printed the sheets of about two volumes only, and were willing to sell these to Richardson at cost, somewhat more than £50 (*Grandison*, 1st ed., VII, 439). Richardson accepted the offer, but apparently the pirates were only seeking to discover how seriously he considered their threatened invasion of his property, or they were hoping to have him believe that he need not inordinately rush the publication of his own edition. Nothing came from the offer and acceptance. Richardson, therefore, reluctantly abandoned his plans of publishing *Grandison* two volumes at a time; entered the first four volumes of the octavo edition in the Stationers' Register in

October and November (see p. 80); and on November 13 announced publication of Vols. I–IV of both editions. Richardson retained the sole rights to this novel, as he had done in the case of *Clarissa*.

As may be seen from the title-pages of Vols. I–IV, Richardson was anticipating arrangements with a Dublin bookseller for the sale of his first English edition. In the imprint of these volumes, he used a semi-colon rather than a period after the name of the last English bookseller, Leake of Bath. Arrangements had been completed with Robert Main by November 1, according to an advance notice in the *London Evening Post*, but for some reason his name was withheld from these title-pages. A semi-colon is used in like manner in Vol. VI; and it was not until the publication of Vol. VII in March, 1754, that Main's name appeared on a title-page. (The title-pages for Vols. I and III were printed from the same type pages, with a typographical correction and a change in volume number made for Vol. III; the title-pages for Vols. II and IV were also printed from the same type pages. For Vol. VI he used the same type page as for Vols. II and IV, but for some reason had to reset the page for the title of Vol. V. Vol. VII differs radically from Vols. I–VI.)

In order to discourage the pirates from exporting their edition for sale in Scotland, Richardson made arrangements with two book-selling firms in Edinburgh (Kincaid and Donaldson, and Hamilton and Balfour) to handle the sale of his edition in that country (*London Evening Post*, October 30–November 1, 1753). The price of this edition in Scotland was the same as in England (*Scots Magazine*, XV, 584, 632; XVI, 158).

Three thousand sets of the smaller edition and one thousand of the octavo edition were published (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 49). Of the edition in duodecimo, seven hundred and fifty were sent to Dublin, to be sold in competition with the pirated edition, six volumes of which were published about the same time as the four volumes of both editions in England. This pirated edition carried the following imprint (slightly varied) in each volume: "London, Printed by S. Richardson, and Dublin, Re-printed and sold by the Booksellers, MDCCLIII." The three booksellers who had so openly advertised their plans in August sought anonymity in November. A note in this pirated edition (Vol. I, vii), advised the Irish purchaser that the novel was reprinted "from Mr. Richardson's Octavo Edition, which has many Corrections not in his small Edition." Richardson fixed the price of his edition in Dublin in accordance with the Irish standard, which was slightly lower than the English for books of this nature. (The first two volumes of *Clarissa*, for instance, sold for 6s. in London, and for 5s. 5d. when reprinted for the Dublin trade.) But even with this reduction on his part, the pirates undersold him, fixing their price two shillings below his for the six volumes (*Grandison*, 1st ed., VII, 439; *Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 49). In April, 1754, after Richardson had had a chance to gauge the success of his edition in competition with the pirates, he said that they had "made a not unsuccessful Hand of the Business" of underselling him (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 96). How serious his loss was it is possible only to estimate. Richardson said later that his Irish agent, Main, had "kept in his Hands 81 Pounds 18 Shillings, which he actually received for me; and had a large Profit allowed him besides" (A. L. s., To Lady Echlin, May 28, 1755, in the Yale University Library). This amount was quite possibly never received, for it was secured in the form of a note payable September 13, 1755, the year in which Main failed in business.

The fifth and sixth volumes of the pirated edition constitute the first

publication of this portion of *Grandison*, because it was not until December 11 that the *Public Advertiser* announced Richardson's fifth and sixth volumes, in duodecimo, and his fifth volume in octavo. The latter was entered at Stationers' Hall on December 5 (see p. 81).

About half the sheets for the seventh volume were printed at least as early as October 5, 1753, or more than a month before the publication of any portion of the novel; and in a determined effort to circumvent the pirates with at least this much of his text, Richardson immediately stopped the printing of Vol. VII when he perceived that Faulkner either could not or would not prevent the piracy (*Forster MSS.*, XI, ff. 29, 39). Shortly after the first six volumes had been published, many London booksellers found themselves unsupplied with copies of the first edition, and some of them began to complain of having been neglected (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 39). The edition in octavo was not exhausted, but this sold for a considerably higher price and was consequently not in such demand. The edition in duodecimo had been reduced, of course, by the sending of 750 copies to Dublin. As early as December 8—three days before Vols. V and VI were actually published—Richardson said that the booksellers who had any copies of Vols. I–IV unsold were holding them for their particular customers; and that to meet the demand for the novel he must soon start the printing of another edition in duodecimo (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 49). He decided to hold in type the pages of signature R of Vol. VI, first edition, and to use these type pages, after opening them and making a few changes, for the printing of this signature for the sixth volume of his new edition—the third. Consequently we may date the beginning of preparations for the third edition from the date of this decision.

We know certainly that by January 4, Richardson, with his own press extraordinarily busy on government printing, was rushing to completion his second small-paper edition by employing the services of seven other printing shops (*Forster MSS.*, XI, ff. 39, 58, 96). Presumably he did not resume the printing of the seventh volume of the first edition until after he had learned of the demand for the third edition of the novel. This can be ascertained by an examination of Vol. VII, first and third editions. The sheets in the first half of these volumes were printed from different settings of the type; but the sheets of the second half were printed from the same type pages, with certain minor changes made in them between the pulling of the sheets for the two editions. These changes could readily be made merely by opening the pages, and adding or taking away certain portions. The economy of this method is obvious; and the result could readily be accomplished, since Richardson printed Vol. VII of both editions at his own shop (*Barbould*, V, 238).

In February or March, 1754, Richardson was sending to the binder sheets to constitute the seventh volume of both editions. Had no mistake occurred in the binding, the bibliographical problem would simply involve the discovery of distinguishing features of the sheets printed in October, the sheets reprinted for the first half of Vol. VII, third edition, and the sheets printed from type pages used for both editions. But in the binding of these volumes, various combinations of sheets and title-pages were achieved. In the note to Vol. VII, first edition, I have listed the distinguishing features of the sheets, and have described the various combinations found. Many others may exist.

Vol. VII of the first edition was published on March 14, 1754. With

it was published Vol. VI of the octavo edition. On March 19 the third edition in seven volumes was published. In April Richardson was still waiting to see what move the pirates would make in connection with Vol. VII of their edition. "What they will do with the Seventh Volume, I cannot say, as it is half a Volume over-measure, and they are so much exposed in it" (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 96, April 8). What they did was to print Vol. VII to complete their edition, omitting that section (pp. 424-442) in which they were exposed. The seventh pirated volume was the only one dated 1754. It was "reprinted by and for" Henry Saunders, one of the pirates.

A fourth edition of Vol. VII of *Grandison* is dated 1756. It is a curious volume (see p. 87), combined with equally curious copies of Vols. I-VI to make the set of this novel in the Brown University library. Its seven volumes represent a combination of sheets and title-pages, for the most part of either the first or third editions. Under my descriptions of the third and fourth editions (nos. 41, 42) I have given some data on this set. In particular, Vol. IV of the Brown copy seems most appropriately described in detail under the note to Vol. IV, third edition; and Vol. VII, under the note to Vol. VII, fourth edition. Though I am at a loss to explain many features of the set, I provide a brief explanation of the several volumes in the paragraphs below. Nothing short of a page for page collation would result in the discovery of all its points, and this does not seem necessary until other copies with like peculiarities are discovered.

Vol. I of the Brown set has the title-page of the third edition in its first state. Signature B is a sheet as printed for the first edition; the remaining signatures are of the third edition.

Vol. II has the title-page of the first edition, with signatures F, G, N, and P of the first edition, and the remaining signatures of the third edition.

Vol. III has the title-page of the third edition in its first state. All the signatures except B and C are of the first edition. Signatures B and C are made up of leaves from both the first and third editions. In the first signature B₃, B₄, B₉, and B₁₀ are printed from type pages used for the first edition; and the remaining leaves of B are printed from type pages used for the third edition. In the second signature C₂, C₃, C₁₀, and C₁₁ are printed from type pages used for the first edition, with the remaining leaves printed from type pages used for the third edition. These sheets could not have been printed in this fashion. In the first place the type pages of the first edition must have been distributed for many weeks before the third edition was set up; secondly, the first edition was printed by Richardson, while the third edition was printed at another printing shop; and thirdly, there is no acceptable fashion in which type pages of both editions could be arranged to provide the results described. But if conjugate leaves of both editions, folded and cut for binding, were available, these curious gatherings could be produced. B₃ and B₉ are conjugate leaves, as are B₄ and B₁₀, C₂ and C₁₁, C₃ and C₁₀. Why and when this was done are questions for which I have no answer.

Vol. IV has the title-page of the third edition, with all the signatures of the third edition, except B, C, and D, which differ from those of either the first or third editions. See the note, Vol. IV, third edition.

Vols. V and VI have first edition title-pages, and are made up largely of

signatures of the first edition. But signature I of Vol. V, and signatures I and O of Vol. VI are of the third edition.

Vol. VII has a title-page which to my knowledge is unique. It is labelled "fourth edition" and is dated 1756. Signatures C, I, L, M, N, P, Q, and R are of the first edition; of these signatures, L, M, N, P, Q, and R are common to both first and third editions. In signature H a pair of conjugate leaves (H5 and H8) is of the first edition. The remaining ten leaves of signature H, and signatures B, D, E, F, G, K, O, S, T, and U differ from either the first or third editions. See the note, Vol. VII, fourth edition.

A fourth edition in seven volumes was published in monthly instalments in the year following Richardson's death. The seventh volume of this edition is made up in part of sheets as printed for the seventh volume of the Brown set.

Not only was Richardson himself beset with pirates, but the owners of the copyright of *Grandison* had also to face the competition of a spurious edition in connection with the fourth edition, published in 1762. This pirated edition was reissued as the "fifth edition" of the novel in 1765 (see no. 43).

Though the original publication of *Grandison* was not the occasion for anything like the flood of books which followed *Pamela*, it did produce a *Candid Examination*, which passed through three editions in 1754 and 1755 (nos. 86-88), and it was the *raison d'être* for a pamphlet entitled *Critical Remarks on Sir Charles Grandison, Clarissa and Pamela* (no. 85). A poem professing to discover a mystical meaning in the novel was published under the title, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison Spiritualized* (no. 90).

Some additional notes on the history of this novel are provided in the sections following my descriptions of the several editions.

THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.

IN A
SERIES of LETTERS

Published from the ORIGINALS,

By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson;

And Sold by C. HITCH and L. HAWES, in *Pater-noster Row*;
By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*;
By ANDREW MILLAR, in the *Strand*;
By R. and J. DODDSEY, in *Fleet-Street*;
And by J. LEAKE, at *Bath*;

M.DCCCLIV.

39. THE HISTORY OF SIR CHARLES
GRANDISON.

First Edition, 1754 [pub. 1753-1754], 7 vols., 12°. (Published simultaneously with the second edition, 6 vols., 8°. See no. 40.)

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.6 × 7.9 cm.

Collation: A⁴(± A1 in many copies), B¹²(± B4), C-E¹⁸ F¹²(± F8), G-O¹² P²; pp. viii + 316.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [iii]-vii; names of the principal persons, [viii]; text, [1]-316; errata note, 316.

Cancels: The title-page is a cancellans in the great majority of copies examined. In the few cases where the title-page seems to be printed conjugately with A⁴, it is printed from the same type page as the cancellans. This condition could exist if Richardson had decided to change the title during the course of its printing. Cancellantia would be printed for the title-pages already struck off; and from the type page of the corrected title the remaining title-pages would be printed on leaves conjugate with the prelimi-

nary matter. If this is the true explanation of the cancellation, the first state of the title is yet to be discovered.

The cancellanda for B4 (pp. 7-8) and F8 (pp. 111-112) have not been found.

Note: Catch-words omitted on pp. 166, 180; catch-word on p. 49 is "ear!" for "ear."; on p. 186, "turn'd" for "turned."

The errata note on p. 316 corrects p. 72, l. 18, to read "oftener"; but this word is in l. 19.

A curious copy (Brown) of this novel, containing signature B of the first edition of Vol. I, and many signatures as printed for the remaining volumes of the first edition, is described in detail on p. 69.

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I, with a change in ornament, and the omission of the period after "By" in the phrase "By J. and J. Rivington."

Collation: [A]₁(= Q₁₂), B-F¹² G¹²(± G₃), H-K¹² L¹²(± L₇), M-P¹² Q¹²(± Q₇; - Q₁₂ = A₁); pp. [ii] + 358.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-358; errata note, 358.

Cancels: The cancellandum of Q₇ (pp. 349-350) may be found in the Singer copy, because the cancellans for this leaf was placed by mistake in the corresponding position in Vol. III. This copy is to my knowledge unique. I have described it elsewhere in detail (*University of Pennsylvania Library Chronicle*, III, pp. 42-45).

An examination of the texts of the cancellandum and the cancellans makes clear the reason for the cancellation. The passage deals with an incident in Venice. The version of the cancellans is more moderate in its statements, more circumstantial in its information, and less bigoted in its point of view. The version of the cancellandum is touched with melodrama, and seems based on the kind of knowledge of Venice which an English printer like Richardson might have received through rumour and cherished through provincialism. We know that Richardson was aware of his limitations in describing Italian scenes and incidents, and sought help from his better informed friends, "in order to avoid Absurdities and Impossibilities" (*Forster MSS.*, XIV, 3, f. 78).

The cancellanda for G₃ (pp. 125-126) and L₇ (pp. 229-230) have not been found.

Note: The Edmund Gosse copy contains Q₁₂ as a duplicate of the title-page (E. H. M. Cox, *The Library of Edmund Gosse*, London, 1924, p. 218). The use of Q₁₂ for the printing of the title-page is further confirmed by occasional offsets of the title on the verso of Q₁₁.

Catch-words are missing on pp. 298, 350; catch-word on p. 79 is "I hope," for "I hope"; on p. 178 is "Sir Tho." for "Sir

Th.”; and on p. 240 is “amptonshire” for “hamptonshire.” On p. 189, l. 27, “connexions” is misprinted “conexinos.”

Letter XXXI begins on p. 286, but in the running head-lines from pp. 289 to 297 this letter is misnumbered 30. The error, thus established, is perpetuated, and in consequence the volume appears to contain thirty-seven letters instead of thirty-eight.

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. I, with the omission of the period as in Vol. II.

Collation: [A]₁ B–C¹² D¹² (± D₅), E–H¹² I¹² (± I₁₁), K–Q¹² R⁸; pp. [ii] + 376.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–375; blank page, [376].

Cancels: The cancellanda for D₅ (pp. 57–58) and I₁₁ (pp. 189–190) have not been found.

Note: Catch-words are omitted on pp. 134, 202, 214, 215, 234, 258, 263, 276, 277, 281, 286, 307, 316, 327, 342, 348, 359. Catch-word on p. 233 is “him” for “him,”; on p. 315 is “tears:” for “tears;”.

Contrary to Richardson’s practice, no press figures (forme marks) are used.

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. I, with the change in ornament and the omission of the period as in Vol. II.

Collation: [A]₁ B–N¹² O⁸ P²; pp. [ii] + 304.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–302; errata note, 302; booksellers’ advertisement, [303]; blank page, [304].

Note: Catch-words are missing on pp. 161, 220, 231, 287; catch-word on p. 135 is “pang;” for “pang;”; on p. 197 is “blazes;” for “blazes;”; on p. 239 is “Reveal” for “Reveal.”

Press figures are omitted as in Vol. III.

VOLUME V

Title-page: As in Vol. I, with omission of period as in Vol. II; a period for a semi-colon after “Bath” in the imprint; and an ornament differing from those used in Vols. I and II.

Collation: [A]₁ (= 1 leaf of O) B–N¹² O⁴ (– 1 leaf); pp. [ii] + 294.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–294; errata note, 294.

Note: In the Yale copy an offset of p. 289 (the recto of O₁) may be found on the verso of the title-page. In this copy, the leaves signed O₁ and O₂ are in reality O₂ and O₃, with O₁ used for the title-page.

The errata note (p. 294) corrects p. 269, l. 13, to read “Tribunal” for “Tribunat.” In all copies examined this correction has been made in ink on p. 269.

Pp. 14 and 230 are mispaged 4 and 30.

Catch-words are missing on pp. 13, 53, 133, 141; catch-word on p. 236 reads "What" for "what".

On p. 268, l. 11, the text reads "me" for "be."

VOLUME VI

Title-page: As in Vol. I, with the change in ornament and the omission of the period as in Vol. II.

Collation: [A]1 B-Q¹² R⁶; pp. [ii] + 372.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-372; errata notes for Vols. V and VI, 372.

Note: This volume exists in two states:

1. (B.M.) The catch-word "My" for "Well" on p. 279.

2. (Lowell) Catch-word on p. 279 is correct.

The errata note on p. 372 repeats a correction for Vol. V, given on p. 294 of Vol. V.

A correction for Vol. VI, p. 343, l. 20, actually applies to an error in l. 28.

Catch-words missing on pp. 20, 86, 102, 152, 183, 250, 294, 305, 310; catch-word on p. 3 is "money;" for "money"; on p. 170 is "year:" for "year—"; on p. 332 is "[Lucy." for "Lucy]".

VOLUME VII (See note below for variant issues.)

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.6 × 7.9 cm.

Collation: [A]1 (= U6), B-T¹² U⁶ (— U6); pp. [ii] + 442.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-299; errata notes for Vols. II, III, IV, VII, 299; concluding note, 300-304; index, 305-417; similes and allusions, 418-421; "The following unlucky omission in Letter III. of this Volume," 422-423; address to the public, 424-442.

Note: Portions of Vol. VII of both the first and third editions were printed about the same time and from the same type pages (see p. 68). Signatures B-I of Vol. VII, first edition were printed about six months before this volume was ready for publication. When Richardson began to print the remaining signatures (K-U) for the first edition, he was aware of the demand for the third edition. He therefore decided to use the same type pages for signatures K-U of both editions. But the type pages for these signatures were opened after the first edition sheets had been printed off, and certain changes were made in them before the third edition sheets were printed. The title-pages designed for the first and third editions are readily distinguishable, because that of the third edition is so labelled.

But either through accident or design, various combinations of sheets and title-pages were achieved when these volumes for the two editions were being bound. It is impossible to estimate how many and what sorts of combinations exist, but I have listed below those which have come to my attention:

THE HISTORY OF Sir CHARLES GRANDISON. IN A SERIES of LETTERS Published from the ORIGINALS, By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA. VOL. VII. and LAST.

To which is added,
An Historical and Characteristical INDEX.
AS ALSO,
A Brief HISTORY, authenticated by Original Letters, of the
Treatment which the EDITOR has met with from certain
Bookfellers and Printers in Dublin.
INCLUDING
OBSERVATIONS on Mr. FAULSTICH's Defence of himself,
published in his Irish News-Paper of Nov. 3. 1753.

LONDON:
Printed for S. Richardson;
And Sold by C. HITCH and L. HAWES, in *Park-street*;
By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*;
By ANDREW MILLAR, in the *Strand*;
By R. and J. DODDLEY, in *Pall-Mall*;
By JAMES LEAKE, at *Rent*; And
By R. MAIR, in *Dublin*.
M.DCCCLIV.

1. (Yale) B-I, first edition; K-U, without the minor changes made for the third edition. First edition title-page.
2. (Lowell) As in No. 1, with signatures F and H as printed for the third edition. First edition title-page.
3. (Widener) B-U, third edition. First edition title-page.
4. (Yale) B-U, third edition. Third edition title-page.
5. (Sale) As in No. 4, with signature F as printed for the first edition. Third edition title-page.

Inasmuch as signatures B-I were printed from two settings of type, with the text revised between the settings, it is necessary to have a list of distinguishing features by which the sheets printed from the first setting of type may be differentiated from those printed from the second setting. In signatures K-U we need to know only what changes were made in the type pages between the printing of the sheets for both editions. In the following table I have provided this data, limiting the number and complexity of the features described in the interest of a test which can be easily and accurately applied. Press figures (forme marks) are of frequent assistance. "Diagonal tests" have been made throughout.

FIRST EDITION

THIRD EDITION

Signatures

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>B A passage intended for Letter III (pp. 10-11) was accidentally omitted. It was printed in signature T (pp. 422-423). In Letter V a note, preceded and followed by short passages of text included between brackets, begins on p. 22, l. 24 and ends on p. 24, l. 13.</p> <p>Press figures: p. 12 = 5; p. 15 = 2.</p> | <p>The omitted passage is restored to its proper place. In consequence, p. 422, signature T, was left blank, and p. 423 used as a fly-title for the <i>Address</i> which follows. In consequence of the restoration of this passage, the note in Letter V was made a footnote in smaller type on pp. 23-24.</p> <p>No press figures.</p> |
| <p>C An error on p. 25 is listed in the errata note in signature O (p. 299).</p> <p>No press figures.</p> | <p>The error is corrected, and the note covering it removed from signature O.</p> <p>Press figures: p. 38 = 2; p. 45 = 6.</p> |
| <p>D Last word on p. 50 is "Life".</p> <p>Press figure: p. 50 = 1.</p> | <p>Last word on p. 50 is "life".</p> <p>Press figure: p. 58 = 2.</p> |
| <p>E On p. 76, l. 22, a phrase reads "As to <i>that</i>".</p> | <p>On p. 76 the phrase reads "As to <i>that</i>".</p> |


- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>F On p. 99 the catch-word is "with"; on p. 111, last line, the word "heard" is correct.</p> <p>No press figures.</p> | <p>On p. 99 the catch-word is "wit"; on p. 111, "hard" is used for "heard".</p> <p>Press figure: p. 110 = 2.</p> |
| <p>G On p. 133, ll. 16-17, the phrase "The two young Lords" is correct.</p> <p>Press figures: p. 130 = 5;
p. 141 = 2.</p> | <p>On p. 133, the phrase reads "Tho two young Lords".</p> <p>Press figure: p. 143 = 2.</p> |
| <p>H On p. 149, four lines from bottom, "reverie" is printed "resverie".</p> <p>Press figures: p. 159 = 1;
p. 160 = 4.</p> | <p>On p. 149 "reverie" is correct.</p> <p>Press figure: p. 165 = 1.</p> |
| <p>I On p. 188, the last word is "will".</p> <p>No press figures.</p> | <p>On p. 188, the last word is "them".</p> <p>Press figure: p. 190 = 2.</p> |

The sheets used for the remaining signatures were printed from the same type pages for both editions. Changes made in these type pages before the third edition sheets were printed are listed.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>K On p. 193, l. 28, the word "better" is used.</p> <p>No press figures.</p> | <p>On p. 193, "stronger" is substituted for "better".</p> <p>Press figures: p. 194 = 7; p. 196 = 6.</p> |
| <p>L L6 unsigned.</p> <p>Error on p. 233 listed in errata note, p. 299.</p> | <p>L6 also unsigned.</p> <p>Error on p. 233 also listed in errata note.</p> |
| <p>M M6 unsigned.</p> | <p>M6 also unsigned.</p> |
| <p>N No points found.</p> | <p>No points found.</p> |
| <p>O On p. 299 is an errata note for Vols. II, III, IV, VII. (See above under signatures C and L.)</p> | <p>All of this type for the note has been removed except the line correcting the error on p. 233 in signature L. Errors in the other volumes had been corrected, since these had been reprinted for the third edition. The error on p. 25 had been corrected in the resetting of signature C.</p> |

P-S Sheets signed as usual.	Asterisks precede the signature marks on P1, Q1, R1, and S1.
T On pp. 422-423 is the text of the omitted passage from Letter III, pp. 10-11.	P. 422 is blank; p. 423 has the following fly-title for the <i>Address</i> which follows: "[a line of flowers] ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC. [a line of flowers]". Both pages are unpaged.
T1 signed as usual.	Asterisk precedes signature mark on T1.
U U1 signed as usual.	Asterisk precedes signature mark on U1.

Offsets of the title-page on the verso of U5 in some copies (Widener, Sale) indicate the original position of the leaf carrying the title. For a description of the third edition, see no. 41.

 *Publication*: Vols. I-IV, November 13, 1753; price in boards, 10s. 6d. (*Public Advertiser*).

Vols. V, VI, December 11, 1753; price in boards, 5s. (*Public Advertiser*).

Vol. VII, March 14, 1754; price, sewed, 2s. 6d. (*Public Advertiser*).

No price for the whole set was advertised, but the third edition in similar format sold for one guinea, bound (*Public Advertiser*).

The size of the first edition was 3,000 sets, 750 of which were sent to Dublin to meet the competition of the pirated edition of *Grandison* (see p. 67). All sets reserved for the English trade were subscribed for by the booksellers before publication (*Forster MSS.*, XI, ff. 39, 49).

THE manuscript of *Grandison* has not been discovered. Richardson said that he began the writing of this novel at "the pressing instances of two persons," though at another time he wrote to a friend in France that he had been "teased by a dozen ladies of note and of virtue, to give them a good man, as they say I have been partial to their sex, and unkind to my own" (*Barbault*, II, 293; V, 272-273). As a matter of fact, as early as 1741, an anonymous resident of Bath suggested that he write "the History of a Man, whose Life would be the Path that we should follow" (*Forster MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 46, February 2). But during this decade Richardson was occupied with writing, excising, and publishing *Clarissa*. It was not until late in the year 1749 that Lady Bradshaigh—certainly one of the two persons responsible for *Grandison*—began to urge him to consider the story of a good man (*Barbault*, IV, 285, 294; and VI, 116).

The identity of the second person is in some doubt. Curiously enough, Colley Cibber seems to have had access to a transcript of the first few let-

ters of the manuscript as soon as anyone. In January, 1750, he wrote for a promised copy, and in May was "choaked with suspense" over the plight of Harriet Byron in the introductory letters (*Barbould*, II, 171-173). In June, Richardson met Mrs. Donnellan and Miss Sutton, women of some social standing, and both encouraged him to proceed with his third novel (*Barbould*, II, 235-236). Mrs. Donnellan continued her encouragement, and perhaps it was she whom Richardson linked with Lady Bradshaigh as the two begetters of *Grandison*. Mrs. Dewes had seen two or three letters of the first volume in August, 1750, but at this time Richardson's creative faculties had flagged, and he announced that he was unable to continue (*Barbould*, IV, 20). How much more of the novel, if any, was written in 1750 cannot be ascertained. Richardson was still reading and discussing the early letters of Vol. I in January and February, 1751; and Thomas Edwards was making demands for the revision of the text of Letter VI (*Barbould*, III, 7-8, January 24, 1750 [for 1751]; and "Samuel Richardson, Autograph Letters, 1747-1758," in Pierpont Morgan Library, f. 5, Richardson to Edwards, February 13, 1751). In March Lady Bradshaigh was permitted to read some of the manuscript, but it was not until April that she met Sir Charles himself (Letter XXV), and rejoiced with Richardson that his hero had refused a challenge to a duel, while still retaining the reader's respect (Letter XXXIX; and *Barbould*, VI, 76, 85-86, 97, 101, 114-115).

Thus almost a year and a half elapsed before Richardson finished the greater portion of his first volume. From then on, however, the writing went more rapidly, and by July, 1751, a group of his admirers had listened to the reading of letters near the close of Vol. II (*Barbould*, II, 259, 267). Susannah Highmore made a sketch of such a scene, with Richardson reading from the manuscript of his novel to a group collected in his grotto at North End. (For a drawing made from this sketch by Miss Highmore after she had become Mrs. Duncombe, see "Samuel Richardson, Autograph Letters, 1747-1758" in Pierpont Morgan Library, f. 11; for an engraving, see *Barbould*, II, frontispiece). During the period between July and October, 1751, the greater portion of Vol. III must have been written (*Barbould*, II, 272).

During 1752 Richardson continually shuddered over the length which his novel was assuming. Sir Charles "is grown under my hands," he wrote, "from a thin gentleman, as I designed him, to a gigantic bulk" (*Barbould*, IV, 71). In August he began to see the end, however, and wrote Lady Bradshaigh that he hoped he was "in the last volume" (*Barbould*, VI, 212). In November, 1752, Mrs. Donnellan, reading the manuscript in note-books as they were sent her, was still urging Richardson not to marry "the angel Clementina to the hair-brained Count de Belvidere," nor to allow her to take refuge in a convent (*Barbould*, IV, 74-78). Though she had probably read only through the opening letters of Vol. VI at this time, the novel was finished by October 25. On this date Richardson wrote to Edwards: "I think I have come to a Period of my Story: Except I change the Catastrophe on going over it again" (*Forster MSS.*, XII, 1, f. 64).

The task of excision then began. "Vast is the fabric; and here I am under a kind of necessity to grasp it all, as I may say; to cut off, to connect; to rescind again, and reconnect. Is it not monstrous, that I am forced to commit acts of violence, in order to bring it into seven twelves volumes, which I am determined it shall not exceed, let what will happen?" (*Bar-*

bauld, VI, 222). In February, 1753, the novel was "in the press" (*Barbauld*, VI, 234, letter undated, but probably written in February).

In a section preceding the bibliographical description (pp. 65-69), I have discussed in detail the printing and publishing of the first edition of *Grandison*. The *Address to the Public* (Vol. VII, 424-442) was published separately as a pamphlet (see no. 45). It contains a long statement of the affair with the Irish pirates over *Grandison*. The index in Vol. VII (pp. 305-417) was prepared by Richardson, presumably in accordance with the suggestion of Samuel Johnson, who had requested an index for the novel in September, 1753 (*Barbauld*, V, 283-284). The table of similes and allusions in Vol. VII (pp. 418-421) was made by one of Richardson's workmen. After Vol. VII was published Richardson wrote to Edwards: "I wish, with you, that the Four Simile Pages had been omitted. I once scratched them out." But, he added, they were compiled by a worthy man, the corrector of his press, and there was a convenient vacancy for them in the volume (*Forster MSS.*, XII, 1, f. 102).

The Lowell copy of this novel is uncut, with pages measuring 18 × 10.7 cm. It is bound in blue and red marbled boards, with red leather backs.

A copy of Vol. VII, described as "proof sheets," in half-binding is listed in *Book-Prices Current*, 1899, p. 370. The note following this item reads in part: "This . . . was sent by Richardson to Lady Bradshaig[h]. It is annotated throughout by her, Richardson afterwards adding in his autograph his observations on her notes. These observations are often of considerable length, several of them being initialed by Richardson." The revised text of Vol. VII, fourth edition, may have resulted from these annotations (see no. 42).

THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.

IN A
SERIES of LETTERS

Published from the ORIGINALS,

By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson;

And sold by C. HITCH and L. HAWES, in *Pater-noster Row*;
By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*;
By ANDREW MILLAR, in the *Strand*;
By R. and J. DODSLEY, in *Pall-Mall*;
And by J. LEAKE, at *Bath*;

M.DCC.LIV.

40. THE HISTORY OF SIR CHARLES
GRANDISON.

Second Edition, 1754 [pub. 1753-1754], 6 vols., 8°. (Published simultaneously with the first edition, 7 vols., 12°. See no. 39.)

VOLUME I, first issue.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.9 × 9.3 cm.

Collation: π2 A⁴(- A₄), B-Dd⁸ [Ee] I (= A₄?); pp. [ii] + viii + 418.

Contents: Half-title, verso blank, "[a line of flowers] | THE | HISTORY | OF | Sir CHARLES GRANDISON. | IN A | SERIES of LETTERS. | [a line of flowers]," [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, iii-vii; names of the principal persons, [viii]; text, [1]-417; blank page, [418].

Note: Dd4 is signed D4. Catch-word missing on p. 336.

In the Troxell copy, the first four leaves of Z are signed Z, Z₄, Z₃, and Z₂, and the pages run throughout the eight leaves of Z as follows: 337, 342, 343, 340, 341, 338, 339, 344, 345, 350, 351, 348, 349, 346, 347, 352. This state could have been produced if the sheet, after having been printed on one side, had been turned the wrong way when being perfected; or by turning the

second forme the wrong way on the bed of the press.

Copy at Harvard.

VOLUME I, second issue.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 17 × 9.3 cm.

Collation: As in first issue.

Contents: As in first issue, except that the first two pages consist of a blank recto with a sonnet signed T[homas] E[dwards] on the verso, and the title-page, verso blank.

Note: The two issues differ only in the text of the two conjugate leaves preceding the preface. One thousand copies of this volume were printed, and publication announced November 13. Presumably the conjugate leaves, with half-title and title, had been printed for all copies. About three months later, on February 6, 1754, Thomas Edwards sent him a sonnet, "which, if it should be thought worth publishing, I desire may be inscribed to the author of Grandison; . . . and subscribed T. E." (*Barbauld*, III, 77). On February 16 Richardson replied to Edwards, sending him a printed copy of the sonnet and writing: "You will be pleased to prefix it to your first Volume [of *Grandison*]; as I shall to the Second Edition" (*Forster MSS.*, XII, 1, f. 96).

By this time the demand for another edition in duodecimo had resulted in hasty preparation for the third edition—a situation which Richardson had not anticipated when he published the first volumes of the first and second editions in November, 1753. With the third edition being rushed for publication in March, Richardson now felt that he must call his large paper edition the "second." Consequently, he printed a revised title-page opposite Edwards' sonnet, labelling the edition as the second and describing certain features of Vol. VI which had not been decided upon when the first issue of Vol. I was published.

While these leaves for the second issue of Vol. I were being printed, he was finishing the printing of Vol. VI. The title-page of Vol. VI also designates this edition as the second.

I can only estimate the number of copies of Vol. I which are of the first and of the second issue. Richardson had on his hands about 500 of the original 1,000 copies on December 8. A few more of these may have been taken by booksellers between December and February, but I suspect that Richardson could have changed the first two leaves in about half the edition. This proportion is fairly well maintained in the copies examined.

Copy at Yale.

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I, first issue, with a period instead of a semicolon after "Bath", and a change in the ornament.

Collation: [A] 1 B-Q⁸ R⁸ (± R₄), S-U⁸ X⁸ (± X₅), Y-Dd⁸; pp. [ii] + 416.

THE HISTORY OF Sir CHARLES GRANDISON. IN A SERIES of LETTERS

Published from the ORIGINALS,
By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

To the Last of which is added,

An Historical and Characteristical INDEX.

AS ALSO,

A Brief HISTORY, authenticated by Original Letters, of the Treatment which the EDITOR has met with from certain Bookfellers and Printers in Dublin.

Including OBSERVATIONS on Mr. Faulkner's Defence of Himself, published in his Irish News-paper of Nov. 3. 1753.

VOL. I.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson;

And Sold by C. HATCH and L. HAWES, in *Pater-noster Row*;

By J. and J. KINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*;

By ANDREW MILLAR, in the *Strand*;

By R. and J. DODSLEY, in *Pall-Mall*;

By J. LEAKE, at *Bath*; And

By R. MAIN, in *Dublin*.

M.DCC.LIV.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-416.

Cancels: The cancellantia of this volume carry the same text as two cancellantia of the first edition: Q7 of Vol. II and D5 of Vol. III. The cancellandum of Q7 may be found in the Singer copy; the other cancellandum has not been found.

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. I, first issue, with change in ornament and punctuation as in Vol. II.

Collation: [A]1 B-Bb⁸ Cc1; pp. [ii] + 386.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-386.

Note: L2, O3, and Bb4 are unsigned.

Catch-words are missing on pp. 74, 92, 111, 126, 182, 280, 375; catch-word on p. 43 is "same," but the first word of the text on p. 44 is incorrectly "some."

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. I, first issue.

Collation: [A]1 B-Cc⁸ [Dd]1; pp. [ii] + 402.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-401; blank page, [402].

Note: The second three is turned upside down in the pagination of p. 393.

Catch-words are missing on pp. 59, 164, 270.

G3 is unsigned.

VOLUME V

Title-page: As in Vol. I, first issue, with a period instead of a semi-colon after "Bath".

Collation: [A]1 B-Bb⁸ Cc⁴ Dd1; pp. [ii] + 394.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-394; errata note for Vol. IV, 394.

Note: Pp. 106 and 366 are mispagged 06 and 66.

Catch-words are missing on pp. 108, 174, 205, 316, 332.

VOLUME VI


Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.9 × 9.3.

Collation: [A]1 B-Ee⁸ Ff1; pp. [ii] + 434.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-299; errata note for Vols. I, II, III, IV, VI, 299; concluding note, [300]-304; index, 305-405; similes and allusions, 406-409; "The following unlucky omission in Letter III. of this Volume," 410-411; address to the public, 412-433; blank page, [434].

Note: Catch-words are missing on pp. 78, 136, 148, 182; catch-word on p. 405 is "Similies" for "Similes".

In some copies (Yale) E4 is signed E.

 *Publication:* This edition was registered at the Stationers' Company as follows: Vols. I, II, October 1, 1753; Vols. III, IV,

THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.
IN A
SERIES of LETTERS

Published from the ORIGINALS,

By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA.

VOL. VI. and LAST.

To which is added,

An Historical and Characteristical INDEX.

AS ALSO

A Brief HISTORY, authenticated by Original Letters, of the Treatment which the EDITOR has met with from certain Bookfellers and Printers in Dublin.

Including OBSERVATIONS on Mr. Faulkner's Defence of Himself, published in his Irish News-paper of Nov. 3. 1753.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson;

And Sold by C. HITCH and L. HAWES, in Peter-street Row;
By J. and J. KINGTON, in St. Paul's Church-Yard;
By ANDREW MILLAR, in the Strand;
By R. and J. DODDSEY, in Pall-Mall;
By J. LEAKE, at Bath; And
By R. MAIN, in Dublin.

M.DCC.LIV.

November 7; Vol. V, December 5; Vol. VI, March 11, 1754 (*MS. Register*, 1746-1773, II, 132, 134, 136, 139).

Vols. I-IV, published November 13, 1753; price in boards, 17s. (*Public Advertiser*).

Vol. V, published December 11; price in boards, 4s. 6d. (*Public Advertiser*).

Vol. VI, published March 14, 1754; price, sewed, 4s. (*Public Advertiser*).

The six volumes, bound, sold for £1. 10 (*Whitehall Evening Post*, March 19-21, 1754).

THE text was revised for this edition. Though Vols. I-IV of both first and second editions were published simultaneously, there are seven cancellantia in these volumes of the first edition, and only two in the second. The text of the remaining five cancellantia of the first edition is followed in the second. When the pirated edition of *Grandison* was published in Dublin, the pirates announced in their preface (I, vii) that it was reprinted "from Mr. Richardson's Octavo Edition, which has many Corrections not in his small Edition."

For a discussion of the printing and publishing of the second edition, see pp. 65-69.

A copy of this edition was listed in *American Book-Prices Current*, 1931, p. 516, with the title-pages of both the first and second issues in Vol. I.

The second edition was sold in Scotland for the same price as in London (*Scots Magazine*, XV, 584, 632; XVI, 158).

41. THE HISTORY OF SIR CHARLES GRANDISON.

Third Edition, 1754, 7 vols., 12°.

VOLUME I, first issue.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 15.1 × 7.6 cm.

Collation: A⁴ B-O¹² P²; pp. viii + 316.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [iii]-vii; names of the principal persons, [viii]; text, [1]-316.

Note: The errata of the first and second editions are corrected, but the catch-words on pp. 166, 180 are omitted as in first edition.

E5 is unsigned; catch-word missing on p. 265.

Only one copy found (Brown).

VOLUME I, second issue.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.8 × 7.9 cm.

Collation: π³ A⁴ (-A1), B-O¹² P²; pp. [ii] + viii + 316.

Contents: As in first issue, except that the title-page has been removed, and a pair of conjugate leaves substituted, consisting of a blank recto with a sonnet signed T[homas] E[dwards] on the verso, and the title-page, verso blank.

THE HISTORY OF Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.

IN A
SERIES OF LETTERS

Published from the ORIGINALS,

By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE THIRD EDITION.



LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson;

And Sold by C. HITCHCOCK and L. HAWES, in Peter-after Row;
By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in St. Paul's Church-Yard;
By ANDREW MILLAR, in the Strand;
By R. and J. DODDLEY, in Pall-Mall;
And by J. LEAKE, at Bath.

MDCCLIV.

THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.
IN A
SERIES of LETTERS
Published from the ORIGINALS,
By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA.
In SEVEN VOLUMES.

To the Last of which is added,
An Historical and Characteristical INDEX.
AS ALSO,
A Brief HISTORY, authenticated by Original Letters, of
the Treatment which the EDITOR has met with from
certain Bookfellers and Printers in Dublin.
Including OBSERVATIONS on Mr. FAULKNER'S Defence of
Himself, published in his Irish News-paper of Nov. 3. 1753.

V O L. I.

The THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for S. Richardson ;

And Sold by C. HITCH and L. HAWES, in *Pater-noster Row* ;By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard* ;By ANDREW MILLAR, in the *Strand* ;By R. and J. DODDLEY, in *Pall-Mall* ;By J. LEAKE, at *Bath* ; AndBy R. MAIN, in *Dublin*.

M.DCC.LIV.

THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.
IN A
SERIES of LETTERS
Published from the ORIGINALS,
By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA.

I N A

S E R I E S of L E T T E R S

Published from the ORIGINALS,

By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA.

In SEVEN VOLUMES.

V O L. III.

The THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for S. Richardson ;

And Sold by C. HITCH and L. HAWES, in *Pater-noster Row* ;By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard* ;By ANDREW MILLAR, in the *Strand* ;By R. and J. DODDLEY, in *Pall-Mall* ;By JAMES LEAKE, at *Bath*. AndBy R. MAIN, in *Dublin*.

M.DCC.LIV.

Note: The two issues differ in the following respects:

1. The title-page has been removed and two conjugate leaves substituted.
2. Signature B of the first issue is the sheet as printed for the first edition, containing the cancellans of B4. In the second issue signature B is reprinted.

For the circumstances determining the change of the title-page and the inclusion of the sonnet, see the note to Vol. I, second edition, second issue (p. 79).

A curious copy (Brown) of this novel, containing many signatures as printed for the third and for the first editions, is described in detail on p. 69.

Copies in B.M., Yale, etc.

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I, first issue, with the rule and ornament after "Edition" omitted.

Collation: [A]₁ (= Q₁₂?), B-P¹² Q¹²(- Q₁₂); pp. [ii] + 358.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-358.

Note: Q7—a cancellans in the first edition—carries the text of the cancellandum in this edition.

Errors and omissions of first edition are corrected, except for error in catch-word on p. 79.

VOLUME III, first issue.

Title-page: As in Vol. I, first issue, with the rule and ornament after "Edition" omitted.

Collation: [A]₁ B-Q¹² R⁸; pp. [ii] + 376.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-375; blank page, [376].

Note: See note, second issue. Only one copy found (Brown).

VOLUME III, second issue.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.8 × 7.9 cm.

Collation: [A]₁ (= R8), B-Q¹² R⁸(- R8); pp. [ii] + 374.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-374.

Note: The two issues differ in the following respects:

1. The title-page of the first issue was printed before Richardson decided to include Main's name in the imprint (see p. 67).
2. The sheets of the first issue, except B and C, are of the first edition; consequently D5 and I11 are cancellantia. Signatures B and C of the first issue are made up of leaves of the first edition and of leaves common to both first and second issues of the third edition (see p. 74). All signatures were reprinted for the second issue.

In order to make R8 available for the title-page in the second issue, the text, beginning in signature Q, p. 238, and extending to

the end of the volume, was set in a more compressed form. Offsets of the verso of R7 on the recto of the title-page in some copies (Sale) indicate the original position of the title-leaf.

In the second issue the errors of the first edition sheets are corrected, except for the missing catch-words on pp. 134, 202, 234, 258, 277, 281, 286.

The following errors appear in the second issue but are not present in the first edition: catch-word on p. 41 is "your" for "our"; on p. 58 is "well" for "Well"; catch-word on p. 121 is "Sir", but the first word of the text on p. 122 is incorrectly "Ser".

Press figures are used in this issue, but not in the first edition. Copies in B.M., Yale, etc.

VOLUME IV, first issue.

Title-page: As in Vol. I, first issue, with the ornament and rule after "Edition" omitted; a semi-colon instead of a period after "Bath"; and a hyphen between "Pater-noster" and "Row".

Collation: [A]1 (= 1 leaf of P), B-N¹² O⁶ P² (— 1 leaf); pp. [ii] + 302.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-302.

Note: In the first edition P2 was used for a leaf of advertisements; in this edition a leaf of P was used for the title-page. Offsets in my copy indicate that the two leaves of P were so folded that the title-page was P1 and the leaf signed P was P2.

The errors of the first edition are corrected, except in the following instances: catch-words are missing on pp. 161, 287; catch-word on p. 135 incorrectly punctuated as in first edition, but the text on p. 136 of the third edition is changed to conform with the incorrect punctuation of the catch-word; catch-word on p. 197, followed incorrectly by a semi-colon in the first edition, is followed incorrectly by a colon in the third edition.

Press figures are used here, but not in the first edition.

Only one copy found (Brown).

VOLUME IV, second issue.

Title-page, Collation, and Contents: As in first issue.

Note: The two issues differ in the following respects:

1. Signatures B, C, and D are printed from two settings of the type, both of which differ from the first edition. All other signatures are different from the first edition but common to both issues of the third edition.

The type in the second issue shows greater compression. For example, p. 29, first issue, has 38 lines; in the second issue, 37 lines. The last two lines on p. 20, first issue, read: "But I will not anticipate too much: Read it here, | if you please." In these lines, second issue, the word "if" has been crowded into the first line. (In the first edition, the last line on p. 20 reads: "Read it here, if you please", showing that

there was an increasing tendency towards compression with each resetting).

On p. 39, l. 21, first issue, the text begins, "by a Godmother"; at this place in the second issue the words "by a" have been placed in l. 20. (In the first edition the word "Godmother" begins with a lower case letter).

On p. 53, l. 8, first issue, the text begins, "thing relating to her"; at this place in the second issue the text begins, "[re-]lating to her."

2. The head-piece of the first issue is of two birds with a basket between them (p. 1); of the second issue is the head of a man in profile. (The head-piece of the first edition is of two birds plucking fruit and flowers from conventionalized cornucopias.)

Copies in B.M., Yale, etc.

VOLUME V

Title-page: As in Vol. III, second issue.

Collation: [A]1 (= 1 leaf of O), B-N¹² O⁴ (—1 leaf); pp. [ii] + 294.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]–294.

Note: Offsets in my copy indicate the original position of the leaf used for the title.

The errors of the first edition are corrected, except for the missing catch-words on pp. 13, 133, 141.

VOLUME VI

Title-page: As in Vol. I, first issue, with a change in the ornament and with the following change in the imprint: "By J. LEAKE, at Bath; And | By R. MAIN, in Dublin."

Collation: [A]1 B–Q¹² R⁶; pp. [ii] + 372.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]–372.

Note: Two states of this volume have been found:

1. In my copy B2 (pp. 3–4) is a cancellans.
2. In other copies (Yale, etc.) B2 is not a cancellans, but the text does not vary from that of the cancellans. The two leaves, regardless of their state, seem to have been printed from the same type page. (Both vary slightly in text from the first edition. P. 3, l. 27, first edition, "forgot"; third edition, "forgotten").

This condition suggests that on this leaf of some sheets an error occurred which had to be corrected by cancellation. Presumably the leaf as a cancellans represents its second state; and the leaf as the conjugate of B11 represents its third state. No definite conclusions can be reached, however, until the first state is found; but inasmuch as seven printers were at work with Richardson in rushing the printing of this edition, the situation as outlined may well have existed (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 96).

Signature R was printed from the same type page used for the first edition (see p. 74). Before the third edition sheets were printed, however, the type pages were opened and certain changes made. For example, the errata note was removed from p. 372; and a note, added at the bottom of p. 363, necessitated the shifting of the type lines on p. 362.

The errors of the first edition are corrected, except for the missing catch-words on pp. 20, 250, 294, 305, 310, and the mispunctuation of catch-words on pp. 3, 332.

The following errors occur in this edition, but not in the first: catch-word on p. 11 is "on" for "no"; on p. 208 is "Wretch" for "wretch". Catch-word is missing on p. 298. On p. 195 the letter number in the running head-line is 31 instead of 30; on p. 317 it is 52 instead of 51; and on p. 333 it is 53 instead of 52.

VOLUME VII (see note, Vol. VII, first edition).


Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.9 × 7.9 cm.

Collation: [A]1 (= U6), B-T¹² U⁶ (- U6); pp. [ii] + 442.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-299; errata note, 299; concluding note, 300-304; index, 305-417; similes and allusions, 418-421; blank page, [422]; fly-title for *Address*, [423]; text of *Address*, 424-442.

Note: The sheets in the first half of this volume were reprinted for the third edition from reset type; the sheets in the latter half were printed from the same type pages as those used for the first edition, but these pages were opened and certain changes made before the sheets for the third edition were printed. I have described in detail the nature of these sheets in the note to Vol. VII, first edition.

In my copy of Vol. VII an offset of p. 442 on the recto of the title-page indicates the original position of the title-leaf. Offsets may be found also in the Widener copy.

 *Publication*: March 19, 1754, advertised as a "new edition"; price, one guinea, bound (*Public Advertiser*).

THE text for this edition shows many revisions and corrections, though it is in large part a page for page reprint of the first edition. For a discussion of the printing and publishing of this edition, see pp. 65-69. The variations in the title-pages may be accounted for by the fact that seven printers besides Richardson were rushing the printing of the third edition.

When Thomas Edwards sent Richardson the sonnet which appears on the first leaf of Vol. I, second issue, he expressed a wish that he might see it engraved below a portrait of the author of *Grandison* (*Barbauld*, III, 77). Richardson replied that the engraver demanded twenty guineas for the plate—a price which he thought beyond reason. It is impossible to speculate as to whether Richardson's vanity would have finally overcome his thrift, because the engraver also pointed out that he could not finish the plate in time for the book's publication as scheduled (*Forster MSS.*, XII, 1, ff. 93, 75).

THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.
IN A
SERIES of LETTERS

Published from the ORIGINALS,
By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA.
V O L. VII. and L A S T.

To which is added,
An Historical and Characteristical INDEX.
AS ALSO,
A Brief HISTORY, authenticated by Original Letters, of the
Treatment which the EDITOR has met with from certain
Booksellers and Printers in Dublin.
INCLUDING
OBSERVATIONS on Mr. FAULSTICH's Defence of himself,
published in his Irish News-Paper of Nov. 3. 1753.

The THIRD EDITION.
L O N D O N:
Printed for S. Richardson;
And Sold by C. HITCH and L. HAWES, in *Fater-nether Row*;
By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*;
By ANDREW MILLAR, in the *Strand*;
By R. and J. DODDLEY, in *Fuli-Mall*;
By JAMES LEAKE, at *Bat's*; And
By R. MAIN, in *Dublin*.
M.DCCCLIV.

THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.
IN A
SERIES of LETTERS.
By Mr. SAMUEL RICHARDSON,
Author of PAMELA and CLARISSA.
In SEVEN VOLUMES.
VOL. I.
The FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed (by Assignment from Mr. RICHARDSON's
Executors) for J. RIVINGTON, in St. Paul's Church-
Yard; C. HITCH and L. HAWES, R. BALDWIN,
J. RICHARDSON, S. CROWDER and Co. and J.
COOTE, in Paternoster-Row. MDCCLXII.

42. THE HISTORY OF SIR CHARLES
GRANDISON.

Fourth Edition, 1762, 7 vols., 12°. (The first issue of Vol. VII is dated 1756; the second issue, 1762. For a pirated edition, see no. 43.)

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.4 × 7.4 cm.

Collation: π1 A⁴ B-O¹² P²; pp. [ii] + viii + 316. (1 leaf for engraved frontispiece between title and half-title.)

Contents: Half-title, "THE | HISTORY | OF | Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.", p. [i]; advertisement for the present edition, [ii]; title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [iii]-vi; sonnet, [vii]; names of the principal persons, [viii]; text, [1]-316.

Illustrations: The engraved frontispiece was made by Charles Grignion [1716-1810] after the portrait of Richardson by Joseph Highmore. This is not the more familiar engraving of Richardson by Grignion, but a later one. The earlier engraving was used as illustration in the *Royal Female Magazine*, I (January, 1760), to face p. 7. Here the subject is facing to the reader's left; while in the frontispiece for *Grandison* he is facing to the right. A few changes have been made in the subject, and an oval masonry frame substituted for a rectangular frame. Grignion may have copied this frontispiece for *Grandison* from his earlier engraving. The frontispiece measures 12.4 × 7.9 cm.

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: π² A¹² (- A1), B-P¹²; pp. [iv] + 358.

Contents: Half-title, as in Vol. I, verso blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; text, [1]-358.

Note: Presumably a title was printed on A1, and this leaf was removed and replaced by the conjugate leaves carrying the half-title and title-page. Inasmuch as the half-title in Vol. I is printed on a single leaf, we might assume that the decision to use half-titles was reached after much of the reprinting had been done. This would account for the condition of the preliminary leaves in some of the remaining volumes.

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: π² A¹² (- A1), B-P¹² Q⁸; pp. [ii] + 376.

Contents: Half-title, as in Vol. I, verso blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text, [3]-376; printer's note to reader, 376.

Note: For removal of A1, see note, Vol. II.

In all other volumes except the third, the printer took care to see that the pagination corresponded with the earlier editions, in order that the index for those editions might be used for the fourth.

By beginning the pagination of Vol. III with the title-page, an error was introduced. A note warning the reader of this fact was placed on p. 376.

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: [A]² B¹² (— B₁), C—N¹² O⁶ P²; pp. [iv] + 302.

Contents: Half-title, as in Vol. I, verso blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; text, [1]-302.

Note: For removal of B₁, see note, Vol. II.

VOLUME V

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: [A]₁ B—N¹² O⁴; pp. [iv] + 294.

Contents: Half-title, as in Vol. I, verso blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; text, [1]-294.

Note: The title-page is printed on B₁.

VOLUME VI

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: [A]² B—Q¹² R⁶; pp [iv] + 372.

Contents: Half-title, as in Vol. I, verso blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; text, [1]-372.

VOLUME VII, first issue.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 15.3 × 7.7 cm.

Collation: [A]₁ (= U6?), B—T¹² U⁶ (— U6); pp. [ii] + 442.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-299; concluding note, 300-304; index, 305-417; similes and allusions, 418-421; blank page, [422]; fly-title for *Address*, [423]; text of *Address*, 424-442.

Note: See note, second issue. Only one copy found (Brown).

VOLUME VII, second issue.

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: [A]² B—T¹² U⁶ (— U6); pp. [iv] + 442.

Contents: As in first issue, except that the title-page has been removed and a pair of conjugate leaves substituted, consisting of a half-title, as in Vol. I, verso blank, and a title-page, verso blank.

Note: The two issues differ in the following respects:

1. The first issue is made up of sheets printed for the first edition and for the third edition of Vol. VII, and of some sheets which were reprinted for this issue.
2. The second issue is made up of sheets reprinted for the first issue, and of sheets which were reprinted for the second issue.

In other words, a few signatures used in the first and third editions were available for reissue in 1756; the remaining signatures had to be reprinted. The sheets that had to be reprinted in 1756 were available for reissue in 1762; the remaining sheets for the

THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.
IN A
SERIES of LETTERS

Published from the ORIGINALS,

By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA.

VOL. VII. and LAST.

To which is added,

An Historical and Characteristical INDEX.

AS ALSO,

A Brief HISTORY, authenticated by Original Letters, of the Treatment which the EDITOR met with from certain Bookfellers and Printers in Dublin.

THE FOURTH EDITION.



LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardson;

And Sold by C. HIXON and L. HAWES, in *Pater-noster Row*;
By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*;
By ANDREW MILLAR, in the *Strand*;
By R. and J. DODDLEY, in *Pall-Mall*;
And by J. LEAKE, at *Bath*.

M.DCC.LVI.

edition of 1762 had to be reprinted. Perhaps the word "issue" is not a legitimate one by which to distinguish these volumes of 1756 and 1762, but it seems the most convenient phrase available.

Under the note to Vol. VII, first edition, I have listed features by which we may distinguish the sheets of the first and third editions of this volume. I give below a table for identifying the sheets of the first and second issues of Vol. VII, fourth edition. In this table the following symbols are used:

1754(1) = a signature as printed for the first edition.

1754(3) = a signature as printed for the third edition.

1756 = a signature as printed for the volume dated 1756.

1762 = a signature as printed for the volume dated 1762.

FIRST ISSUE	SECOND ISSUE
<i>Signatures</i>	
B 1756	1756
Press figure: p. 22 = 2.	
C 1754(1)	1762
Press figure: p. 39 = 1.	
D-G 1756	1756
Press figures: p. 52 = 1; p. 70 = 3; p. 86 = 2; p. 108 = 5. (No press figures in G, but they are used in both 1754(1) and 1754(3).)	
H A pair of conjugate leaves, H5 and H8, are from 1754(1); the remaining ten leaves are 1756.	H5 and H8 are 1762; the remaining ten leaves are 1756.
The press figures of 1754(1) are on H8, so this evidence cannot be used to distinguish 1754(1) from 1756. But on p. 145, ll. 16-17 in 1754(1) the text reads: "They are invited guests at <i>Lord G's</i> "; while in 1756 the text reads: "They are invited to <i>Lord G's</i> ".	
• I 1754(1)	1762
No press figures in 1754(1). Press figure: p. 190 = 7.	

K 1756	1756
On p. 193, 1754(1) the last word is "reasons"; in 1756 it is "all".	
L-N 1754(1)	1762
L6 and M6 unsigned.	L6 and M6 signed.
	Press figures: p. 239 = 1; p. 252 = 2; p. 262 = 4; p. 278 = 3; p. 285 = 7.
O 1756	1756
No errata note on p. 299.	
Press figure: p. 300 = 5.	
P. 291 is mispaged 305.	
P-R 1754(1)	1762
	Press figure: p. 326 = 2.
	No press figures in Q and R.
S-U 1756	1756
Press figures: p. 408 = 5;	
p. 432 = 2; p. 439 = 1.	

Signatures B, D-G, H (ten leaves), K, O, S-U were reprinted for the volume dated 1756; and reissued in the volume dated 1762. The remainder of the sheets for the volume dated 1756 were drawn from sheets of 1754(1), or from sheets common to 1754(1) and 1754(3). These sheets were reprinted for the volume dated 1762.

Two facts attest the importance of knowing when the seventh volume of the fourth edition was printed: the text is considerably revised from that of the earlier editions; and Richardson died in July, 1761, the year preceding the publication of the fourth edition. I believe that the reprinted sheets in both issues were printed about 1756; but that for some reason Richardson did not reprint the sheets of Vols. I-VI at this time. The first six volumes of the fourth edition differ markedly in appearance from the seventh volume. No ornaments are used in Vols. I-VI; the volume number and letter number are omitted from the running head-line. If Vols. I-VI had been reprinted in whole or in part in 1756, these sheets would have been available for reissue in 1762, as was the case with the sheets of Vol. VII. It is obvious, even to the casual reader, that Vol. VII of the fourth edition does not match the first six volumes. There seems therefore no reason why the publishers would have sought uniformity by reprinting six volumes in 1761-

1762, if there had been other volumes printed about 1756, and available, as was the seventh, for reissue.


The reason for assembling the odd lot of signatures which appear in the first issue of Vol. VII is not apparent, unless we assume that Richardson was simply trying to salvage a few remaining sheets from the first and third editions, which were lying about his warehouse. I do not believe that this particular copy was ever published, because the juxtaposition of signature B as reprinted and signature C as it appeared in the first edition creates a break in the text between pp. 24 and 25. Perhaps Richardson was preparing for a fourth edition, should the demand arise. But I do not believe that any volumes of a fourth edition were actually published during his lifetime. No advertisement between 1754 and 1762 mentions a fourth edition; nor is there any indication in his correspondence that he planned to publish one. In July, 1754—four months after the publication of the third edition—Richardson received from Lady Bradshaigh her set of the novel, containing marginalia by way of suggested revision. He professed his intentions of using her suggestions should the demand arise for another edition (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 110, July 9). But four years later he returned this set to Lady Bradshaigh, indicating which of her suggestions he allowed (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 227, January 2, 1758). In March, 1761, Lady Bradshaigh again sent the set to Richardson; and after his death in July, 1761, Richardson's daughters returned the volumes to their owner (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 276, March 13; XI, f. 281, April 25, 1762). During all this period no mention was made of a fourth edition. (For the Bradshaigh copy of Vol. VII, see p. 78.)

I think we may safely assume that the sheets for Vol. VII, fourth edition, were printed before March, 1756. The title-page dated 1756 contains in the imprint the firm name of J. and J. Rivington. This partnership was dissolved in March, 1756, when James Rivington entered into partnership with James Fletcher, and left John Rivington in business alone (*London Evening Post*, March 9–11, 1756). In June, 1756, an advertisement for the "new" edition of *Grandison* (the phrase by which the third edition was always advertised) indicated that it was for sale by John Rivington, and by Rivington and Fletcher (*London Evening Post*, June 5–8). Had the title-page dated 1756 been printed after March, it would not have contained the firm name of J. and J. Rivington, but would have followed the form used in the advertisement of June, 1756.

We can be sure that the volume was printed at Richardson's press. The head-piece on p. 1 was used by him in the fourth edition of Defoe's *Tour*, 1748, and in Edward Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition*, 1759.

The chief importance to be attached to the first issue of Vol.

VII lies in the fact that we can be reasonably sure because of its existence that the revised text in Vol. VII, second issue, represents the author's final intentions, even though the date of this second issue is 1762 and Richardson died in 1761.

 *Publication*: Vol. I, February 1, 1762; price, 2s. 6d. sewed; 3s. bound. The remaining volumes were published in six instalments, a volume a month (*London Chronicle*, January 21–23; January 30–February 2, 1762).

A SINGLE sheet, printed as an advertisement for this edition, may be found in St. Bride's Institute, London. The recto of this sheet contains the announcement of the edition. On the verso is printed a group of quotations from various authors in praise of Richardson—the same group printed on the verso of the half-title of Vol. I. These quotations are taken from Samuel Johnson's introductory remarks to Richardson's essay in the *Rambler*, No. 97; from George Lyttelton's *Dialogues of the Dead*; and from Joseph Warton's *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*. Diderot's and Rousseau's familiar praise of the author is also given.

The first genuine posthumous edition of *Grandison* is the fifth edition, 7 vols., 1766. A pirated edition appeared in 1765 (see p. 92).

43. THE HISTORY OF SIR CHARLES GRANDISON.

Fourth Edition, Pirated, 1762, 7 vols., 12°. (See no. 42.)

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.8 × 7.2 cm.

Collation: A⁴ B–O¹² P⁸ Q¹; pp. viii + 330.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; preface, [iii]–vi; sonnet, [vii]; names of the principal persons, [viii]; text, [1]–330.

Note: The comma after "Crowder" in the imprint distinguishes the title-page of this edition from that of the genuine edition.

I have presented my reasons for describing this edition as a piracy in the note to Vol. VII.

In Vols. I–VII, only five leaves signed in each signature.

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: [A] 1 B–Q¹² R⁶; pp. [ii] + 372.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–372.

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. I, with a period instead of a comma after "Mr. Samuel Richardson", and the omission of the comma after "Crowder" in the imprint.

Collation: [A] 1 B–R¹² S⁶; pp. [ii] + 396 (see below).

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–168; 149[for 169]–376[for 396].

THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.
IN A
SERIES of LETTERS.
By Mr. SAMUEL RICHARDSON,
Author of PAMELA and CLARISSA.
IN SEVEN VOLUMES.
VOL. I.
The FOURTH EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed (by Assignment from Mr. RICHARDSON'S Executors) for J. RIVINGTON, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; C. HITCH and L. HAWES, R. BALDWIN, J. RICHARDSON, S. CROWDER, and Co. and J. COOTE, in Paternoster-Row. MDCCLXII.

Note: The period after "Richardson" distinguishes the title-page of this edition from that of the genuine edition.

VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. I, with changes as in Vol. III.

Collation: [A] I B-O¹² P²; pp. [ii] + 316 (see below).

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-613[for 316].

VOLUME V

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: A-M¹² N⁴; pp. [ii] + 294.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-294.

Note: A4, A5 signed B4, B5.

VOLUME VI

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: [A] I B-R¹² S²; pp. [ii] + 388 (see below).

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-384; 369[for 385]-372[for 388].

VOLUME VII


Title-page: As in Vol. I, with changes as in Vol. III.

Collation: [A] I B-O¹² P⁸; pp. [ii] + 324.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-318; concluding note, 319-324.

Note: The reasons for describing this edition as a piracy are as follows:

1. No attempt was made to set page for page with the earlier editions; consequently Richardson's index was rendered useless and omitted from Vol. VII.
2. Richardson's *Address*, Vol. VII, pp. 424-442, exposing the Dublin piracy of his first edition, was omitted from Vol. VII of this edition.
3. This edition was reissued in 1765 for a so-called "fifth" edition, with new title-pages. The new title-pages for Vols. I, II, V, and VI have the following imprint: "DUBLIN: | Printed for S. WATSON, and J. WILLIAMS." The new title-pages for Vols. III, IV, and VII have simply: "LONDON: Printed for Mr. RICHARDSON," by way of imprint.
4. The publishers of the genuine edition had available the sheets as printed by Richardson in 1756 for Vol. VII, and could reissue them for this volume of their fourth edition.
5. The irregularities in pagination suggest cheaper printing methods; the signing of only five leaves in each gathering is a practice which I have found generally true for Irish printers; and the use of what seems to be a French made paper suggests an Irish hand at work, since the Dublin printers had to depend in many cases upon France for their printing supplies.

 **Publication:** No advertisements found, because obviously the copied title-pages would make it possible for the pirates to profit by the advertisements of the genuine edition.

44. THE CASE OF SAMUEL RICHARDSON.


First Edition, 1753, fol.

Title-page: None. The reproduction is of the first page of the text, with the heading as title. Type page 27.1 × 15.6 cm.

Collation: [A]²; pp. 4.

Contents: Text, [1]–3; a short title, printed parallel with the longer edge of the sheet, [4].

Note: This single sheet in folio was printed to be folded twice again, parallel with its shorter edge, in the manner of a legal docket.

 **Publication:** Distributed gratis. The date line on p. 1 is September 14, 1753.

THIS is a statement of Richardson's grievances against the Dublin booksellers who pirated his *Grandison* (see p. 66). In the text he also exposes the duplicity of his own workmen in providing the pirates with sheets of the novel. Richardson took every opportunity to see that this attack on the Dublin booksellers was distributed as widely as possible (A.L.s., in Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, To Miss Grainger, October 16, 1743 [for 1753]; and *Barbauld*, V, 8).

The pages of an uncut copy (Tinker) measures 37.2 × 24.8 cm.


45. AN ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

First Edition, 1754, 12°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.7 × 7.9 cm.

Collation: [A]¹²; pp. 24.

Contents: Half-title, verso blank, "[a line of flowers] | ADDRESS | TO THE | PUBLIC. | [a line of flowers]", [1–2]; title-page, verso blank, [3–4]; text, 5–23; blank page, [24].

 **Publication:** Distributed gratis. The date line on p. 23 is February 1, 1754.

THE text of this *Address* may be found in Vol. VII, first, third, and fourth editions, pp. 424–442, with the half-title used as fly-title in the third and fourth editions, p. 423. It also appears in Vol. VI, second edition, pp. 412–433.

The date line on p. 23—February 1, 1754—is the date of publication, and not the date of composition. A manuscript of this pamphlet, "corrected and superscribed by Richardson," was offered for sale by G. Michelmores and Co. (Catalogue No. 12, p. 61). This manuscript had been sent by Richardson to Lady Echlin in Ireland on November 24, 1753. With the manuscript, Michelmores and Co. also offered a letter of Richardson to Lady Echlin, January 30, 1754, in which he told her that he was then

LONDON, Sept. 14. 1753.

THE
C A S E
O F
Samuel Richardson, of London, Printer;
With regard to the
INVASION of his PROPERTY
IN
The History of Sir Charles Grandison,
Before PUBLICATION,
By certain BOOKSELLERS in Dublin.

THE EDITOR of THE HISTORY of Sir CHARLES GRANDISON has intended to send the Volume of it, as he did that of the HISTORY of CLARISSA HARLOWE, as he printed in Dublin, before he published them himself in London. Accordingly, when he had printed off to considerable Part of the Works, as would have sufficiently employed the Press in which he purposed to engage them, he sent over 11 Sheets of the First Volume to Mr. George Faulkner, intending to follow it with the rest, as Opportunity offered.

He had heard an Irish Bookseller boast, some Years ago, that he could procure from any Printing-Office in London, Sheets of any Book printed in it, which it was going on, and before Publication; and Mr. Faulkner continuing late on this Subject, with regard to the Works, he took particular Care to prevent, as he hoped, the Effects of such an infamous Corruption, as it must be called; since it could not be done but by bribing the Journeyman or Servant of the London Printer. He gave a South Charge, before he put the First in Press, as all his Workmen and Servants, as well as his Press, that a single Sheet might be printed, as by Word of Mouth, to be so near Grand against any unbecoming Attacks. This was the Substance of the general Cause which he gave to his Workmen, on this Occasion: "A Bookseller of Dublin has offered me, that he could get the Sheets of any Book from any Printing-house in London, before Publication. I hope I may depend upon the Care and Circumstances of my Friends, Compensators and Friends, that no Sheet of the First I am now giving to Press be carried out of the House; nor any Sheet taken of as being in Press. It is of great Consequence to me. Let no Stranger be admitted into any of the Work-rooms. Close doors, I hope I may rely on the Integrity and Care of all my Workmen—And let all the People, Trades, &c. let give me Mr. Faulkner's Name." "to take care of."

He had no Reason without their Allegations, that of them being Persons of approved Honour, and was pleased with their declared Abhorrence of it with a Treachery, and of all such who should attempt to corrupt them. Yet, so he felt more secure, as he thought, he ordered the Sheets, as they were printed off, to be deposited in a separate Warehouse, the Care of which was committed to One, on whom he had laid such Obligations, as, if he is guilty, he made

AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
PUBLIC,
ON
The Treatment which the EDITOR of the
HISTORY of Sir CHARLES GRANDISON
has met with from certain Booksellers and
Printers in Dublin.
INCLUDING
OBSERVATIONS
By Mr. FAULKNER's Defence of Himself,
Published in his Irish News-paper of Nov. 3. 1753.



LONDON:
Printed in the Year MDCCLIV.

thinking of publishing his observations on Faulkner at the end of *Grandison*, and planned to issue some copies in pamphlet form. On February 8, Richardson wrote Lady Bradshaigh that he had decided to include the *Address* in the third edition, which was then being prepared for publication (*Forster MSS.*, XI, f. 66). The seventh volume of the first edition was being printed at the same time, and the last sheets of this volume in both editions were printed from the same type pages. Presumably, Richardson simply removed the title-page of the *Address* as published in pamphlet form, and utilized the type pages of the half-title and the text to print the fly-title and text as it appeared in the novel. The pagination was changed and signature marks added to bring the pages into conformity with the pages of the novel.

Two copies of this comparatively rare pamphlet are in the B.M.



Copy of a LETTER to a LADY,

Who was solicitous for an additional volume to the HISTORY of Sir CHARLES GRANDISON; supposing it ended abruptly; and expressing herself desirous to see Sir CHARLES's Conduct and Behaviour in the Parental Character; and to know if the Story were intended to be carried further.

MADAM,

Mar. 25. 1754.

I Write to your commands sent me yesterday.

I have no intention of pursuing further the History of Sir CHARLES GRANDISON: And hope, when you consider the circumstances of the Story, you will be of opinion, that it ends very properly where it does, tho' at the first perusal it may seem, to a Lady who honours the piece with her approbation, to conclude a little abruptly, and the rather, as the necessary delay in publishing the last volume, occasioned by the treatment I met with from Dublin, made persons imagine that marvellous events, and violent catastrophes, were preparing; and but for which treatment the three last volumes would have been published together.

The Story of PAMELA was supposed to have taken place within thirty years, that of CLARISSA within twenty, of their respective publications. In either of those spaces of time, there was room to marry and bury half a generation of people.

That of Sir CHARLES GRANDISON is supposed to be more recent. In his recital of what passed between himself and Clementina long before the Story begins, and before he had hopes of being allowed by his Father (then living) to return to England, he mentions the rebellion in 1745 and 1746; and that the success made over him in Italy, on the reported success of the young Adventurer, obliged him to go to Vienna.

What passed between him and Clementina, and her Family, on his return from thence to Bologna, till he quitted Italy, and (on his Father's death) arrived in England, may be supposed to take up a considerable space of time.

He had been about fifteen months in England when the Story begins. That takes up a year and half.

All this may be supposed to bring it down pretty near to the present time.

Finally, under the direction of so prudent a guardian, was not, for example false, to be married till she was near twenty.

Lady GRANDISON's circumstances and her lying-in, would not permit her to leave England for a voyage to Italy, to them as might

46. TWO LETTERS CONCERNING SIR CHARLES GRANDISON.

First Edition, 1754, 12°.

Title-page: None. The reproduction is of the first page of the text with the heading as title. Type page 15.4 × 7.6 cm. The heading for the second letter, at the top of p. 5, is as follows: "[a line of flowers] | ANSWER to a LETTER from a FRIEND, | Who had objected to Sir CHARLES GRANDISON'S | Offer to allow his Daughters by Lady CLEMEN- | TINA, had his Marriage with her taken Effect, to | be educated Roman Catholics. | Mar. 25. 1754."

Collation: [A]⁴; pp. 8.

Contents: Text of first letter, [1]–4; text of second letter, 5–8.

Publication: Printed for private circulation about April 10, 1754 (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 3, f. 37).

MANY of Richardson's friends and his anonymous correspondents requested him to continue the story of *Grandison* in an eighth volume; and several zealots in the cause of Protestantism objected to Sir Charles's tolerance of Roman Catholicism. To provide an answer for these correspondents Richardson printed these two letters. This not only relieved him from the task of answering numerous letters, but it also provided his friends with an adequate defense for his position when they were questioned. To Miss Wescomb, for instance, he sent a number of copies, which she presumably distributed among her acquaintances (*Forster MSS.*, XIV, 3, f. 129).

On April 10, 1754, Richardson wrote in reply to three girls who chose to remain anonymous: "Could I have sooner got finished at Press the inclosed Copies of my Answer to Letters sent me, which I had directed to be printed when your joint Letter came to my Hand, you would, sooner have had your Commands Answer'd . . . Your kind Solicitude for more of my History, has been that of many" (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 3, f. 37).

The "Lady" to whom the first letter was addressed signed herself "Julia," when she wrote to Richardson on March 14, 1754, asking him

about Clementina's marriage, the possibility of Grandison's accompanying Jeronymo to Bologna, etc. (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 4, f. 20). A later letter appears to throw some light on her identity, but I have been unable to reach any satisfactory conclusion. I do not think she was known to Richardson. His answer to her is not in the Forster Manuscripts, but on April 10, he wrote advising her that he had printed this answer (with some additions) to distribute to "any whose Curiosity should prompt them to ask for it" (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 4, f. 27).

The second letter was in reply to one from the Reverend Cox Macro, although Richardson was unaware of his correspondent's name when he wrote his answer. The letter from Macro, unsigned, was sent to Richardson in a letter signed "W.S.," and marked by Richardson as "Rec^d March 17 or 18, 1754" (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 4, f. 22). In the Forster Manuscripts there is a draft of Richardson's reply to Macro, dated March 22, 1754, and filled with revisions (XV, 4, f. 23). The actual reply, bearing the same date, may be found among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum (32, 557, f. 176; a facsimile of this manuscript is in Edmund Gosse and Richard Garnett, *English Literature An Illustrated Record*, 4 vols., London, 1903, III, between pp. 308-309). The text of the printed letter is revised in places to adapt it to the more general use which Richardson had in mind.

Both letters are reprinted in Richardson's *Collection of Moral Sentiments*, 1755, pp. 403-410.

A copy may be found in the Bodleian.

47. A COLLECTION OF MORAL SENTIMENTS.

First Edition, 1755, 12°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.4 × 7.5 cm.

Collation: A⁸(— A6), B-S¹² T1(= A6?); pp. x + 410.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface by a friend, iii-x; sentiments from *Pamela*, [1]-83; blank page, [84]; sentiments from *Clarissa*, 85-216; sentiments from *Grandison*, 217-394; table to the sentiments, 395-402; two letters concerning *Grandison*, 403-410.

Publication: March 6, 1755; price, 3s. 6d. bound. The actual day of publication is a matter of some doubt. The *Public Advertiser*, in its issue of Monday, March 3, announced the work for "Next Thursday", March 6. This newspaper carried no advertisement for the work on March 6, but the *Daily Advertiser* announced the book's publication on March 7. Edward Young, however, wrote to Richardson on March 6, saying, "I am glad your Sentiments are published" (*Monthly Magazine*, XLI, 232).

THE origin of this work may be traced to a similar collection of sentiments made for *Clarissa* alone, and published in Volume VIII, third edition, pp. 309-396. On May 3, 1750, Richardson wrote: "A Gentleman to whom I had not at the time the Pleasure to be known, having

A COLLECTION

Of the Moral and Instructive
SENTIMENTS, MAXIMS, CAUTIONS,
and REFLEXIONS,

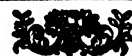
Contained in the
Histories of PAMELA, CLARISSA, and
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.

Digested under Proper HEADS,
With References to the Volume, and Page, both in
Octavo and Twelves, in the respective Histories.

To which are subjoined,

TWO LETTERS from the Editor of those Works; The
one, in ANSWER to a Lady who was solicitous for an additional
Volume to the History of Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.

The other, in REPLY to a Gentleman, who had objected to Sir
CHARLES's offer'd Compromise in the Article of Religion, had
he married a Roman Catholic Lady.



L O N D O N :

Printed for S. Richardson;

And Sold by C. HITCH and L. HAWES, in *Peter-nigger Row*;
J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*;
ANDREW MILLAR, in the *Strand*;
And J. DODDLEY, in *Pall-Mall*; And
J. LEAKE, at *Bath*.

M.DCCCLV.

amused himself with collecting many of the moral Sentiments scatter'd thro' the Volumes [of *Clarissa*], of which he was so good as to make me a Present, I think to enlarge his Collection, and insert it at the End of the Work [in its third edition]" (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 85). This gentlemen may well have been Solomon Lowe, a neighbor at North End, who wrote to Richardson in May, 1748, enclosing a portion of an index of *Clarissa*, and expressing himself willing to proceed with it if Richardson approved (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 101).

Even before the publication of this collection in the third edition of *Clarissa*, Richardson said that many of his friends wished to "see it printed by itself, as a collection of maxims, aphorisms, &c. which they think would be of service to the world, independent of the history, as they relate to life and manners" (*Barbauld*, V, 273-274, January 21, 1751).

The sentiments from *Clarissa*, however, were not published apart from the novel, but Richardson, keeping in mind the favor with which they were received, prepared a similar collection for *Grandison* (Vol. VII, 1st ed., pp. 305-417). On July 16, 1753, when this novel was being printed, he wrote to Edwards: "I am pretty forward with Sir Charles: But am perplexing myself with extracting Sentiments, &c. which I once thought I could have left to another hand" (*Forster MSS.*, XII, 1, f. 81).

After the publication of the last volume of *Grandison* in March, 1754, he began the preparation of this volume of sentiments from the three novels. Many of his friends regretted that the time spent in such fashion was not devoted to a fourth novel, and some declared they would not read the collection, if published. "However, I can faithfully assure them," Richardson said, "that this collection was set about, and carried through (and a very painful and laborious task it was) more with a view to do good, than to profit. I could not expect a great sale of it, though it is the pith and marrow of nineteen volumes, not unkindly received" (*Barbauld*, V, 48, July 7, 1755).

The preface was written by Benjamin Kennicott, fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. In a letter to Kennicott, Richardson spoke disparagingly of the work, but more with the view of prompting Kennicott to praise it, I suspect, than with any real conviction. "It is a dry Performance—" he wrote, "Dull Morality, and Sentences, some pertinent, some impertinent, divested of Story, and Amusement; I cannot expect much from it, tho' enlivened by your kind and friendly Preface" (A. L. s., in University of Pennsylvania Library).

The two letters concerning *Grandison* (pp. 403-410) are the *Copy of a Letter to a Lady* and the *Answer to a Letter from a Friend* (see no. 46).

Though published anonymously, the book was described in a contemporary review as a work "by Mr. Richardson himself" (*Monthly Review*, XII, 235). No second edition of this work appeared.

Some of these sentiments from the three novels were printed on cards, in a deck called "The New Impenetrable Secret; or Young Lady and Gentleman's Polite Puzzle" (*London Chronicle*, April 22-24, 1760). They were advertised as "an entire new Set of Entertaining Cards, neatly engraved on Copper-Plates. Consisting of moral and diverting Sentiments, extracted wholly from the much admired Histories of Pamela, *Clarissa*, and Sir Charles Grandison. The whole designed, while they amuse and entertain, to establish the Principles of Virtue and Morality in the Minds

of both Sexes." One deck sold for 6*d.*; another, "printed on superfine Cards in red and black with elegant Borders," sold for a shilling (*London Chronicle*, June 21–24, 1760). The bookseller, R. Withy, offered a large allowance to schools! The popularity of the game is attested by the fact that a ninth edition was advertised in 1771 (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, January 5).


48. *CONJECTURES ON ORIGINAL COMPOSITION*, by Edward Young, with suggestions and additions by Richardson.

First Edition, 1759, 8°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 15.7 × 7.7 cm.

Collation: [A] I B–H⁸; pp. [ii] + 112.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–112.

 *Publication*: May 12, 1759; price, 1*s.* 6*d.* (*London Chronicle*, May 10–12). The size of the edition was between 500 and 1,000 copies. On May 24 Richardson said that Millar had only a few copies left unsold, and that Dodsley had probably sold most of those allotted to him (*Monthly Magazine*, XLVI, 45; XLVII, 135).

THIS piece of criticism is by Edward Young, the poet; but it seems to have been undertaken at Richardson's suggestion, and for two years was the subject of correspondence between the two men. Richardson contributed many suggestions and revisions (*Monthly Magazine*, XLII, 39–41; 331–335; XLIII, 327–329; XLIV, 327–330; XLV, 238–239; XLVI, 43–45; XLVII, 134–137). Alan D. McKillop (*Modern Philology*, XXII, 391–404) made a detailed analysis of Richardson's share in the *Conjectures*. The letters of Richardson to Young while composition and revision were in progress are of particular interest because they reveal Richardson's attitude toward Addison, Dryden, and Pope. Richardson's contributions to this work constitute almost his only piece of formal literary criticism.

A second letter was planned but never written.

An Irish edition of the *Conjectures*, printed in duodecimo (pp. 60) for Peter Wilson, appeared in the same year as the English edition.

49. *CONJECTURES ON ORIGINAL COMPOSITION*.

Second Edition, 1759, 8°.

Title-page: As in first edition, with the addition above the imprint of a rule and the line "The SECOND EDITION".

Collation: [A] I B–H⁸ I1; pp. [ii] + 114.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–113; blank page, [114].

CONJECTURES

ON

ORIGINAL COMPOSITION.

IN A

LETTER

TO THE

AUTHOR

OF


Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.

*Si habet aliquod tanquam pabulum studii, & doctrine,
etiam fenestrate nihil est jucundius.* C1C.

L O N D O N:

Printed for A. MILLAR, in *The Strand*; and
R. and J. DODSLEY, in *Pall-Mall*.

M. DCC. LIX.

 *Publication*: June 19, 1759; price, 1s. 6d. (*London Chronicle*, June 16–19). The size of the edition was 1,000 copies (*Barbauld*, II, 54).

AFTER the publication of the first edition, Samuel Johnson discussed the work with Richardson, and made a few comments on several passages. Richardson urged him to send these comments to Young, but they were never sent (*Monthly Magazine*, XLIV, 329; XLVII, 135).

Richardson also discussed the essay with William Warburton. "One of Dr. Warburton's remarks was, that the character of an original writer is not confined to subject, but extends to manner;" he wrote to Young, "by this distinction, I presume, securing his friend Pope's originality. But he mentioned this with so much good humour, that I should have been glad to have heard you both in conference upon the subject" (*Barbauld*, II, 56). In this same letter to Young, Richardson expressed his regret that Addison's death-scene had been generally accepted as the "sole end" and purpose of the essay, and recommended its shortening.

THE
Life and Heroic Actions

OF

BALBE BERTON,
Chevalier DE GRILLON.

Translated from the FRENCH by a LADY,

And revised by

Mr. RICHARDSON, Author of *CLARISSA*,
GRANDISON, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for H. WOODGATE and S. BROOKS, at the
Golden Ball in Paternoster-Row.

50. *LIFE OF BALBE BERTON*, translated from the French of Marguerite de Lussan, with some assistance from Richardson.

First Edition, First Issue, n.d. [1760], 2 vols., 12°.

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 12.1 × 7.1 cm.

Collation: π1 [A]1 B–M¹² N⁸(– N8); pp. iv + 278.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; character of Balbe Berton extracted from Cesar Nostredamus, [iii]–iv; text, [1]–277; errata note, 277; blank page, [278].

Note: A stub pasted to the verso of B12 does not represent the cancellation of B12. This stub is conjugate with [A]1, the second leaf of the book. When this leaf was bound its stub was folded around signature B and held in place by pasting. The title-page was then pasted to [A]1.


N8, which has been removed, was probably used for one of these preliminary leaves. The other preliminary leaf, the title-page of Vol. II, and M2 of Vol. II were in all likelihood printed with the eight leaves of N on a whole sheet.

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I, with the line "In Two Volumes." omitted.

Collation: [A]1 B–L¹² M²; pp. [ii] + 244.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–192; appendix, 193–216; index, 217–244.

 *Publication*: Vols. I and II, April 28, 1760; price, 6s. bound (*Lloyd's Evening Post*, April 25–28). Delays occurred in the publishing of this book. It was announced for publication "in a few days" in the *London Chronicle*, November 3, 1759. Nine

months after publication, Robert Withy advertised copies for sale at 5s. sewed, 6s. bound (*London Chronicle*, January 27-29, 1761).

THIS book is a translation of Marguerite de Lussan's *Vie de Louis Balbe-Berton de Crillon*, 2 vols., Paris, 1757. I do not know the translator's name. Richardson wrote of the book to Lady Bradshaigh: "I wonder not, knowing your Ladship's Taste, that you could not read Grillon. I was drawn in, against my Will, to give the Translation a Reading, by the Lady who render'd it into English, of French I know nothing; and advised some Notes of the Massacre of Paris, and Assassination of Henry IV. Contemporary Transactions. This brought up[on] me the application to have my Name mentioned to the Public as the Reviser. My Kinsman [his nephew, William Richardson] printed it" (*Forster MSS*, XI, f. 268, June 20, 1760).

The notes on the assassination of Henry IV are in Vol. II, 160-173. The appendix to Vol. II gives a long account of the Massacre of Paris. One section of this appendix was in all likelihood written by Richardson, inasmuch as it is introduced by a note which reads: "The following account of this dreadful massacre, given by a very worthy writer, containing several particulars not mentioned in the above, deserves to be inserted here."

Richardson's name was constantly employed in advertising the work; but no advertisement nor review of the book gives any hint of the translator's name (*Monthly Review*, XXII, 156; *Critical Review*, IX, 342-353).


51. LIFE OF BALBE BERTON.

Second Edition, n.d. [1761], 2 vols., 12°. (This is the second issue of the first edition.)

VOLUMES I, II

Title-pages: As in first issue, with the addition after line nine of the line "The SECOND EDITION".

Note: This is a second issue of the sheets of the first edition, with new title-pages.

 *Publication*: Vols. I and II, November 28, 1761(?); price, 5s. (*London Chronicle*, November 26-28). This is the date of the first advertisement which I have found.

ALTHOUGH the names of Woodgate and Brooks appear in the imprint of the second issue, the newspaper advertisement indicates that the sale of the book was being handled by Robert Withy. In January, 1761, Withy was offering the first issue for sale. I do not know what arrangements Withy had with the firm of booksellers, Woodgate and Brooks, but this firm was not an important one. Woodgate went into bankruptcy in 1766 (*Plomer's Dictionary*).

When Withy advertised the second issue in November, 1761, he announced the work as revised by "the late Mr. Richardson." Richardson

died in July of that year. Inasmuch as the title-pages of the second issue do not indicate that Richardson had died, we might assume that they were printed before July.

A copy of this book is in the Columbia library.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F

Sir William Harrington.

WRITTEN SOME YEARS SINCE,

And revised and corrected

By the late Mr. RICHARDSON,

Author of Sir Charles Grandison, Clarissa, &c.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED,

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

Of Folly Audacious, ev'n of Vices vain,
Ah! Vices gilded by the Rich and Gay.
SHUNSTONE'S Elegies.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JOHN BELL, at his extensive Circulating
Library near Exeter Exchange in the Strand, and
C. ETHERINGTON at YORK.

MDCCLXXI.

52. *THE HISTORY OF SIR WILLIAM HARRINGTON*, by Anna Meades, revised and corrected by Richardson.

First Edition, 1771, 4 vols., 12°.

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.3 × 7.2 cm.

Collation: [A]⁴ B-L¹² M⁸; pp. viii + 256.

Contents: Half-title, verso blank, "THE | HISTORY | OF | Sir William Harrington. | VOL. I.", [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; preface, v-vii; notice to the reader, [viii]; text, [1]-251; blank page, [252]; booksellers' advertisements, [253-256].

Note: The hyphen between "Exeter" and "Exchange" in the imprint is barely perceptible.

L6 is signed K6; E4 and M4 are unsigned.

VOLUME II

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: π1 [A]¹ B-L¹² M⁸ (- M6); pp. [iv] + 254.

Contents: Half-title, as in Vol. I, verso blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; text, [1]-250; booksellers' advertisements, [251-254].

Note: The half-title and title are printed on single leaves. I suspect that one of them was printed on M6 (the first leaf after the conclusion of the text). M6 was removed and its conjugate was pasted to M4 when the book was bound. M7 and M8 have the completed water-mark in many copies (Tinker).

Probably the sheet on which M was printed had originally twelve leaves, inasmuch as both M4 and M5 are signed, although the stitching is between these two leaves. If so, M6 may well have been used for the title of Vol. II, and the remaining four leaves for the half-titles of Vols. II, III, and IV, and the title of Vol. III. I select these particular leaves, because the title for Vol. III is printed from a second setting of the type of the title-page, and because the setting of the half-title in triplicate would be relatively simple. As a matter of fact, I think we can locate the leaf used for the title of Vol. IV: in Vol. III the last signature is M¹² (- M12).

VOLUME III

Title-page: As in Vol. I, except that this page was printed from a second setting of the type. The failure of the hyphen between "Exeter" and "Exchange" to print clearly in Vol. I accounts for

the fact that it was omitted in resetting the page for Vol. III. Oxford rules precede the imprint in Vols. I, II, and IV, but two plain rules are used in Vol. III. See note, Vol. II.

Collation: π1 [A]1 B-L¹² M¹² (- M12); pp. [iv] + 262.

Contents: Half-title, as in Vol. I, verso blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; text, [1]-257; blank page, [258]; book-sellers' advertisements, [259-262].

Note: See note, Vol. II. D6 is unsigned.


VOLUME IV

Title-page: As in Vol. I.

Collation: π1 [A]1 B-M¹²; pp. [iv] + 264.

Contents: Half-title, as in Vol. I, verso blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; text, [1]-259; concluding note by the editor, 260-263; blank page, [264].

Note: See note, Vol. II.

 *Publication:* Vols. I-IV, January 25, 1771; price, 10s. sewed (*Gazetteer and New [formerly, London] Daily Advertiser*).

THIS work, usually ascribed to Thomas Hull, was in reality written by a feminine admirer of Richardson, Anna Meades, in 1757 (Sale, "Samuel Richardson and *Sir William Harrington*," *Times Literary Supplement*, August 29, 1935, p. 537).

Miss Meades, the author of the *History of Cleanthes*, a work published anonymously in 1757, asked Richardson to publish her second novel (*B. M. Add. MSS.*, 28, 097, a small collection of letters which passed between Miss Meades and Richardson in 1757-1758). When he replied, pointing out that he was not a bookseller, but a printer, he offered to read and advise her about her manuscript. She accepted, and sent him the work to which she had given the title: *A Description of Modern Life*. Richardson's suggested revisions may be found at the close of the collection of letters in the British Museum (ff. 20-25).

For some reason the book was not published at that time, nor did it appear until fourteen years later when an editor, changing its title, offered it to the public under the name of *The History of Sir William Harrington*, with a running-title, "A Description of Modern Life." The editor makes Richardson's share in the work explicit in his preface to the first volume: "*That Mr. Richardson revised these letters*, is truth, on my own knowledge. We both had an intimacy of some years with the writer. . . . The work has been very lately entrusted to my care, to usher into the world . . . Such emendations or insertions as he made, are faithfully preserved. In some places, he left only a signature of an intended necessary alteration, which I have presumed to supply. . . . This, and an alteration of *title*, are all the liberties I have taken: The latter I thought essential to the face of the work in an advertisement, but even here I have paid so cautious a respect to my friends, as to have retained the original name through the course of the work [i.e. as running-title]." Inasmuch as the name of Thomas Hull has been traditionally associated with this book for so many years, I suspect that he was the editor who thus prepared the manuscript. Undoubtedly, he recognized the value of having Richardson's

name on the title-page. The advertisements recommended the novel to all admirers of Richardson; and advised the public that the book was "now first published under the inspection of his intimate friend" (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, January 18, 1771). The intimate relationship between Richardson and Hull, however, has not been established by any other evidence.

Shortly after the novel was published, Richardson's family protested that he had had no concern in the work, even as they had declared spurious the *Six Letters upon Duelling*, published in 1765 (see no. 57). Their protest took the form of a notice in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, February 5, 1771, in which they stated that their late father had "never revised or corrected any such work," and furthermore that "no person has a right to publish any new work under his name, without their authority." This sputter from the family has been generally taken seriously, because the connection between Miss Meades' manuscript and a novel published fourteen years later was not made.

In a second edition of the work in 1772, the editor replied to the protest of the Richardsons. In a revised preface he pointed out that some mistaken attempts had been made "to induce the public to believe, that Mr. Richardson had no share" in the revision of the manuscript. Following the practice of the editors of the *Candid Review* when they were challenged as to the authority of the *Six Letters on Duelling*, the editor had left Richardson's notes for *Sir William Harrington* for many months with John Bell, the bookseller for whom the novel was printed. It is these notes which may now be examined in the British Museum.

The second edition of *Sir William Harrington* was, according to the editor's preface, "produced with the advantage of an explanatory index, and a careful revisal of the whole work; which the editor thought himself bound to add, in gratitude for the kind reception, and liberal encouragement which the former volumes obtained." There seems no reason, however, to include a description of this edition in a study of Richardson's literary career.

53. HISTORY OF MRS. BEAUMONT. A FRAGMENT.

First printed in Anna Lætitia Barbauld's *Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, 6 vols., London, 1804, V, [301]-348.

Title: "History of Mrs. Beaumont, A Fragment. In a Letter from Dr. Bartlett to Miss Byron."

Note: Mrs. Barbauld elected to print only a portion of this history.

The manuscript is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City. It consists of ten leaves, measuring 20.4 × 15 cm., set in larger leaves, and bound. The text is written on both sides of nine of these leaves, and on about one-quarter of the recto of the tenth leaf. At the top of the recto of the first leaf Mrs. Barbauld has written, "History of M^{rs} Beaumont a Fragment in a letter from" [then follows, in Richardson's handwriting] "Dr. Bartlett, To Miss Byron". The signature at the conclusion is "Ambrose Bartlett". On folios 5 and 13 are marks and notes made by Mrs.

Barbauld by way of instruction to the printer. Her conception of the function of an editor is made clear when we observe that a part of the text on folio 17 and all of the text on folios 18 and 19 are crossed through, so that the letter as printed concludes with a phrase on folio 17—"they lived together not unhappily". In the printing further liberties were taken with the text as Richardson wrote it.

RICHARDSON'S purpose in writing this fragment is not entirely clear. Mrs. Barbauld offered the conjecture that it was meant for an additional volume of *Grandison*, or intended for insertion at some point in the seven published volumes, but was rejected when the manuscript was being revised (*Barbauld*, I, cxlii). Richardson never seriously contemplated adding a volume to *Grandison*, but he may have removed this "History" from the original text.

From a letter of Thomas Edwards to Richardson, written two years after the publication of *Grandison*, it appears that the novelist was toying with the idea of using Mrs. Beaumont's story as the basis of a fourth novel (*Barbauld*, III, 118). If so, Edwards gently discouraged him: "Mrs. Beaumont's story would, from what I have seen of it, be both entertaining and instructive; but, after what we have been favoured with, would, I doubt, seem uninteresting." Edwards thus drew a fine distinction between the entertaining and the interesting elements in the fragment.

Four letters between Hortensia Beaumont and her friend, Mrs. Winwood, in ten quarto pages, were described by I. A. Williams in 1923 (*London Mercury*, VII, 385). Mr. Williams said these were in the handwriting of Richardson's daughter, Mrs. Bridgen, who carried on most of her father's correspondence in the last few years of his life. Perhaps a fourth novel was in embryo.

Both Mrs. Barbauld and Mrs. John Duncombe thought that Richardson had drawn the character of Mrs. Beaumont from a woman he once loved. Mrs. Duncombe said that never did Richardson become "so animated as when he was insensibly led into a narration of any circumstances in the history or description" of this woman; and Mrs. Barbauld, trusting to certain "hints" which she found, suggested that the story of a romantic lady of Richardson's past was "delicately and obscurely shadowed out" in the fragmentary history of Mrs. Beaumont (*Barbauld*, I, clx-clxi). There is no doubting Richardson's "animation" when describing the woman in question. In a letter written in the third person he wrote of her to Lady Bradshaigh: ". . . Another there was whom his soul loved; but with a reverence—Hush!—Pen, lie thee down!—A timely check; where, else, might I have ended?—This lady—how hard to forbear the affecting subject!—But I *will* forbear. This man presumed not—Again going on!—not a word more this night" (*Barbauld*, I, clx).

The manuscript in the Morgan library was the property of Richard Phillips, publisher of Richardson's correspondence, at the time when Mrs. Barbauld edited it in 1804. It was offered for sale by J. W. Southgate in 1828, and described in his catalogue as a manuscript in nineteen quarto pages, entirely in Richardson's handwriting. It sold for eight shillings (*Southgate's Catalogue of Manuscripts*, etc., sold on January 21 and 22, 1828, No. 151, p. 13. The catalogue is in the B.M.).

PART II
WORKS OF SAMUEL RICHARDSON
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS

54. *VERSES*, addressed to Edward Cave and William Bowyer.

First Publication, *Gentleman's Magazine*, VI (January, 1736), p. 51.

TO my knowledge this is the first printed work of Richardson which can be assigned to him with any degree of certainty. His contribution to Wharton's *True Briton* in 1723 is a matter of grave doubt (see pp. ix-x).

A rhymed invitation to a "Society Feast" for London printers was received by Richardson on January 17, 1736. The stewards on this occasion were Edward Cave and William Bowyer, described in the invitation as of St. John's and of St. John's Gate, inasmuch as Bowyer was of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Cave's shop was located at St. John's Gate. Richardson's reply, also dated January 17, pleaded a previous engagement. It is in rhymed couplets, and is signed "S.R."

Below the verses as printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* is the following note: "Concerning this Gentleman, the Company observ'd, that tho' the Publick is often agreeably entertain'd with his Elegant Disquisitions in Prose, not one imagin'd that his extensive Business would allow him the least Leisure to invoke the Muses; without whose aid the Johnnians insisted, he could not have return'd so poetical and so speedy an Answer."

The phrase referring to Richardson's disquisitions in prose is tantalizingly provocative. One is tempted, as was Emma Danielowski, to speculate on the nature and extent of these writings (*Richardsons erster Roman*, Berlin, 1917, pp. 159-163). In my forthcoming study of Richardson's press, I shall carry speculation as far as the known facts justify, but my present results are too inconclusive to merit their presentation in this bibliography.

Following the note in the *Gentleman's Magazine* are four lines of verse, further establishing Richardson's authorship of the rhymed reply to the invitation. These lines are a salutation, "to him, whose Genius makes one printer shine, Rich—son of Phæbus, darling, of the Nine."

55. *A REPLY TO THE CRITICISM OF CLARISSA*.

First Publication, *Gentleman's Magazine*, XIX (August, 1749), pp. 347-349.

THE criticism of *Clarissa* which occasioned this reply from Richardson was written by Albrecht von Haller, the Swiss scientist, and was first published in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, XLII (April-June, 1749), pp. 324-336. Haller's article was translated into English and published in two instalments in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XIX (June, August, 1749), pp. 245-246; 345-349. Richardson's reply was printed by way of a long footnote published with the second instalment, and headed "Answers to the Objections." Reference numbers sprinkled through Haller's text refer to paragraphs of this footnote.

Both Haller's criticism and Richardson's reply are unsigned. For the attribution of the original article to Haller, see *Albrecht von Hallers Gedichte*, ed. Ludwig Hirzel, as Vol. III of *Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz*, Frauenfeld, 1882, p. cccxiii. Hirzel attributes the reply to Richardson in a footnote on this page. Dobson (p. 100) conjectured that the reply was at least inspired by Richardson; and Dottin (p. 274) wrote: "Cave, le directeur du *Magazine*, les communiqua à Richardson, qui lui dicta les réponses à imprimer en note." Dottin supplies no evidence for his statement; but an entry in the index to the "Clarissa and Grandison Correspondence" in the Forster collection reads: "Observations on the Amsterdam Critic, by Mr. R. from the Magazine, Aug. 1749" (XV, 3, f. 2). This seems clearly to refer to the manuscript or printed text of this footnote, though unfortunately the item itself is missing from the collection.

Richardson took occasion to reply to certain remarks of Haller not answered in this footnote, in italicized portions of his table of contents, prefixed to the second edition of *Clarissa* (see p. 54).

It should be mentioned that Haller was on the whole a great admirer of Richardson and that his criticism could not be described as unfriendly. His comparison of Marivaux and Richardson is largely to the credit of the latter. No suspicion of personal friendship can be said to have prejudiced Haller in Richardson's favor, for Haller refers to Richardson at the outset of his article as "S. Robinson, the bookseller." Cave confirms the open secret of Richardson's authorship of the novel by correcting this statement to read "S. Richardson, the printer."

56. No. 97. THE RAMBLER.

First Publication, February 19, 1751. The essay constituting the whole of this number of the *Rambler* was written by Richardson.

THIS number of Samuel Johnson's periodical was published on Tuesday, February 19, selling for 2*d*. It is reputed to be the only issue which had a large sale (William Prideaux Courtney, *A Bibliography of Samuel Johnson*, Oxford, 1915, p. 25).

An introductory note by Johnson precedes the essay: "The Reader is indebted for the Day's Entertainment, to an Author from whom the Age has received greater Favours, who has enlarged the Knowledge of human Nature, and taught the Passions to move at the Command of Virtue." The remainder of the issue (pp. 575-580) is devoted to Richardson's essay. The *Rambler* was issued in three half-sheets, printed for J. Payne and J. Bouquet.

The original numbers were collected and published in two volumes in 1751, with No. 97 in Vol. I, paged as originally issued. These volumes were reissued in 1753. Later editions, as listed in Courtney, follow: 2nd ed., 12°, 4 vols., in January, 1752 and 2 vols. in July, 1752; second issue of 2nd ed., 1752; 3rd ed., 12°, 4 vols., 1756; 4th ed., 12°, 4 vols., 1756; 5th ed., 12°, 4 vols., 1761. Courtney also lists editions in Dublin and Edinburgh.

57. SIX ORIGINAL LETTERS UPON DUELLING.

First Publication, *Candid Review and Literary Repository*, I (March, 1765), pp. 227-231. These letters were printed under the heading: "Six Original Letters upon Duelling. Written by the late Mr. Samuel Richardson, Author of the History of Sir Charles Grandison, &c."

RICHARDSON died on July 4, 1761, and these letters were published four years later, in March, 1765. They have not to my knowledge been reprinted.

In April, 1765, Mrs. Richardson and her daughters inserted a notice in the *St. James's Chronicle*, denying that these letters were written by Richardson, and announcing that all his manuscripts were in their hands (April 4-6). The editors of the *Candid Review* retorted by printing a note in their periodical for April, again asserting the authenticity of the letters, and indicating that the originals might be inspected at the bookshop of Z. Stuart, bookseller for the *Candid Review* (I, 320). I suspect that the family was mistaken, as it was later in denying Richardson's share in the revision of the *History of Sir William Harrington* (see p. 102).

The letters are to and from Thomas Gillies and a pair of gentlemen who are contemplating a duel, Andrew Crisp and John Orme. Gillies acts as mediator, and his efforts result in averting the duel. Dottin (p. 399) says that "le *Literary Repository* publia Six lettres sur le duel, tirées des papiers qu'il avait préparés pour l'épisode fameux de *Grandison*, mais non employés pour ne pas démesurément grossir l'ouvrage." But no evidence is supplied for this statement. None of these characters appears in *Grandison*. Certainly poor whining Robert Orme, with the "watry head"—the most disconsolate of Harriet Byron's suitors—would not have been found on the brink of a duel. Nor do I suspect him of having a belligerent brother, John.

The internal evidence for Richardson's authorship is inconclusive, but Richardson's antipathy for duelling finds constant expression in his novels. Nothing in the nature of the arguments offered by the peace-making Gillies is striking enough to serve as a basis for an ascription. His arguments are of a piece with the obvious objections to duelling offered by the eighteenth century. But the prolix handling of a single incident through a series of letters is not unlike the practice of Richardson, both in his novels and in the *Familiar Letters*.

Only six numbers of the *Candid Review* were printed. The file in the Yale Library is the only one I have found.

58. LETTER FROM AN UNCLE TO HIS NEPHEW.

First Publication, *Imperial Review, or London and Dublin Literary Journal*, II (August, 1804), pp. 609-616. This letter was printed under the heading: "An Unpublished Letter; from Mr. Samuel Richardson, to his Nephew, Thomas Richardson".

THOUGH it is not within the scope of this book to describe the printed letters of Richardson, I include this item, because the letter eventually lost its personal character and was reprinted in the form of a model letter.

Mrs. Barbauld's edition of the *Correspondence* was reviewed in the *Imperial Review* for July, 1804 (pp. 414-430), and a note was appended: "In the next Number of the *Imperial Review*, we shall lay before our Readers an unpublished Letter from Mr. Richardson to his nephew. This letter, which has been in the possession of a Friend upwards of thirty years, will hold up the character of Richardson in a point of view, in which he has not been exhibited in the volumes that have now passed under our notice." Thomas Richardson, son of William Richardson, was apprenticed to his uncle, Samuel, on August 1, 1732 (*MS. Records of the Stationers' Company*, "Bindings," under date). He died, according to the memorial tablet in the floor of St. Bride's Church, London, on November 8, 1732. This letter to Richardson's nephew antedates by several years any preserved letter of the novelist.

In a considerably revised form, with many excisions, this letter was later printed by the Company of Stationers in the form of a small pamphlet, to be given to each apprentice with a copy of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. The clerk of the company can supply me with no information as to the date when this practice began, but he assures me that it is continued to the present day.

The title-page and collation of the pamphlet follows:

A | LETTER | FROM | SAMUEL RICHARDSON, ESQ. | FORMERLY A MEMBER | OF THE | COMPANY OF STATIONERS | AND GIVEN BY THEM TO THE | YOUTHS BOUND AT THEIR HALL | [Arms of the Stationers' Company] | STATIONERS' HALL | LONDON | E.C. 4 | [n.d.].

Collation: [A]¹⁶; pp. 16.

Contents: Title-page, with small printer's ornament on verso, [1-2]; introduction, [3]-4; text, [5]-15; small printer's ornament, [16]. All pages of the text and the title-page are enclosed within border rules printed in red.


Note: This pamphlet as issued in 1930 is in a grey-green paper wrapper, with the title also printed on the front cover. The pages of an uncut copy measure 13.5 × 9.4 cm.

PART III

**WORKS INSPIRED IN WHOLE OR IN PART BY
THE PUBLICATION OF RICHARDSON'S NOVELS**

59. *SHAMELA*, attributed to Henry Fielding.

First Edition, First Issue, 1741, 8°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.5 × 8.3 cm.*Collation*: A-D⁸ E⁴ F²; pp. xvi + 60.*Contents*: Half-title, verso blank, "AN | APOLOGY | FOR THE
| LIFE | OF | Mrs. SHAMELA ANDREWS. | (Price One
Shilling and Six-Pence.)", [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv];
dedication, v-xii; letters to the editor, xiii-xv; blank page, [xvi];
text, [1]-59; blank page, [60]. *Publication*: April 4, 1741; price, 1s. 6d. (*Craftsman*). The
advertisements indicate that the book was sold by Dodd (whose
name is in the imprint), and by E. Nutt and J. Jollyffe.

HENRY FIELDING has been generally accepted as the author of this
parody, the first of the attacks upon *Pamela* (Wilbur L. Cross, *His-
tory of Henry Fielding*, 3 vols., New Haven, 1918, I, 305-306; Alan D.
McKillop, "The Personal Relations between Fielding and Richardson,"
Modern Philology, XXVIII, 424). Richardson himself believed Fielding
the author. When editing the letter of one of his anonymous correspond-
ents, Richardson appended a note to the phrase "that vile Pamphlet
Shamela," indicating that the parody was "by Mr. H. Fielding" (*Forster
MSS.*, XVI, 1, f. 51). This note was made shortly before Richardson's
death, and after he had established a friendship with Fielding's sister,
Sarah. Inasmuch as he was preparing his correspondence for publication at
the time when he made this attribution, we may see that he retained his
resentment against Fielding's parody for many years, and was planning
publicly to accuse Fielding of an act which the latter had never acknowl-
edged. *Shamela* was never reprinted in Fielding's collected works.

It is doubtful whether Aaron Hill knew that Fielding had written
Shamela, but he must have pleased Richardson when he wrote, deploring
"the oblique reputation weaker writers endeavour to draw, from a dis-
torted misuse of her [Pamela's] name" (*Barbault*, I, 68).

Though Richardson and his friends resented *Shamela*, it seems clear
that Fielding thought he was attacking Colley Cibber when he wrote in
parody of the anonymous author of *Pamela* (*Dobson*, 44-45).

A reply to the criticism of *Shamela* was made in *Pamela's Conduct in
High Life*, 1741, I, xii-xiii.

60. *SHAMELA*.

First Edition, Second Issue, 1741, 8°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.7 × 8.3 cm.*Collation*: A-D⁸ E⁴; pp. xvi + 56.*Contents*: As in first issue, except that the text is printed on pp. [1]-
56.*Note*: Though printed in large part from the same type, this issue
may be distinguished from the first issue by the following points:

1. A textual change was made on the title-page, and a double

AN
A P O L O G Y
FOR THE
L I F E
OF
Mrs. SHAMELA ANDREWS.

In which, the many notorious FALSHOODS and
MISREPRESENTATIONS of a Book called

P A M E L A,
Are exposed and refuted; and all the matchless
ARTS of that young Politician, set in a true and
just Light.

Together with

A full Account of all that passed between her
and Parson *Arthur Williams*; whose Character
is represented in a manner something different
from what he bears in *PAMELA*. The
whole being exact Copies of authentick Papers
delivered to the Editor.

Necessary to be had in all FAMILIES.

By Mr. CONNY KERBER.

L O N D O N :

Printed for A. DODD, at the *Peacock*, without *Temple-bar*.
M. DCC. XLI.

AN
A P O L O G Y
FOR THE
L I F E
OF
Mrs. SHAMELA ANDREWS.

In which, the many notorious FALSHOODS and
MISREPRESENTATIONS of a Book called

P A M E L A,
Are exposed and refuted; and all the matchless
ARTS of that young Politician, set in a true and
just Light.

Together with

A full Account of all that passed between her
and Parson *Arthur Williams*; whose Character
is represented in a manner something different
from that which he bears in *PAMELA*. The
whole being exact Copies of authentick Papers
delivered to the Editor.

Necessary to be had in all FAMILIES.

By Mr. CONNY KERBER.

L O N D O N :

Printed for A. DODD, at the *Peacock*, without *Temple-bar*.
M. DCC. XLI.

PAMELA CENSURED: IN A LETTER TO THE EDITOR:

SHEWING

That under the Specious Pretence of Cultivating the Principles of Virtue in the Minds of the Youth of both Sexes, the MOST ARTFUL and ALLURING AMOROUS IDEAS are convey'd.

And that, instead of being divested of all Images that tend to *inflame*; Her Letters abound with Incidents, which must necessarily raise in the unwary Youth that read them, EMOTIONS far distant from the PRINCIPLES of VIRTUE.

Exemplified in many Quotations, with a CRITICAL REVIEW, and REMARKS upon the *Whole*.

Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa; rident
Simplices Nymphae, ferus & Cupido,
Semper ardentis accens sagittas
Cote Cruentae. HORAT

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROBERTS, at the Oxford Arms,
in Warwick-Lane. MDCCLXI.

PAMELA'S CONDUCT IN HIGH LIFE.

Publish'd from her

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

To which are prefix'd,

Several Curious LETTERS written
to the *Editor* on the Subject.


LONDON:

Printed for WARD and CHANDLER, at the
Ship without Temple-Bar; JOHN WOOD and
CHARLES WOODWARD, at the *Door* in
Pater-Noster-Row; and THOMAS WALLER,
in the *Middle-Temple Cloysters*.

MDCCLXI.

rule used to replace a single rule. (The misspelling of "misrepresentations" was not corrected).

2. The catch-word on p. v of the first issue ("these" for "those") was corrected.
3. The ornament used as head-piece on p. 1 of the first issue (two baskets of fruit, formally treated) was removed, and a head-piece showing three conventionalized baskets of flowers was substituted.
4. A few slight changes were made in the body of the text. For example, "whole Duty of Man" was changed to "Whole Duty of Man", in recognition of the fact that the phrase was the title of a book (p. 29).
5. The type was so crowded on the pages that the text could be printed on fifty-six rather than fifty-nine pages.

 *Publication*: See first issue.

61. PAMELA CENSURED.


First Edition, 1741, 8° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.3 × 8.1 cm.

Collation: π1 A-H⁴; pp. [ii] + 64.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; dedication, [1-4]; text, 5-64.

Note: A2 is unsigned.

 *Publication*: April 29, 1741; price, 1s. (*Daily Advertiser*).

THE recommendation of *Pamela* from the pulpit by the Rev. Benjamin Slocock, St. Saviour's, Southwark, was in part responsible for the writing and publication of this anonymous pamphlet. It is dedicated to that clergyman (see p. 17).

This was the first of the attacks to assert that Richardson had kindled the fire which he had intended to extinguish, and its author was the creator of what was later to become a *cliché* in the criticism of Richardson. Though Richardson thought it the work of an enemy, written on purpose to depreciate his novel, it was considered by at least one reader to be a "Bookseller's Contrivance, for recommending the Purchase of *Pamela* to such Light and Loose Readers, as the names of Religion and Virtue might well have scar'd from any Purpose to look into it" (*Forster MSS.*, XIII, 2, f. 48, a note by Richardson to a letter of Hill, May 25, 1741; and the text of this letter).

Answers to this attack appeared in *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, 1741, I, xiii-xvi.

A copy of this pamphlet is in the Harvard library.

62. PAMELA'S CONDUCT IN HIGH LIFE, attributed to John Kelly.

First Edition, 1741, 2 vols., 12° in half-sheets.

VOLUME I

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.2 × 7.3 cm.

Collation: A⁶ a² B–Dd⁶; pp. xvi + 312.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; introduction, [iii]–xvi; text, [1]–312.

Note: Inasmuch as there seems to have been no definite intention of publishing a second volume when the first volume appeared, the volume number is not given on the title-page.

P. xvi is mispag'd vxi in many copies (B.M.; Tinker).


VOLUME II

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.7 × 7.3 cm.

Collation: [A]1 B–Ff⁶; pp. [ii] + 336.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–335; book-sellers' advertisement, [336].

Note: B3 is unsigned.

 *Publication:* Vol. I, May 28, 1741; price, 3s. bound (*Champion*). Vol. II, September 12, 1741; price, 3s. bound (*Common Sense*).

THIS is the first of the spurious continuations of Richardson's novel, and was the one primarily responsible for Richardson's writing the third and fourth volumes of *Pamela* (see p. 26).

Though a second volume was not planned when the first volume appeared, a hint was given in the preface (p. xi) that a second volume might be published if the first volume were well received. Presumably this was the case, for the second volume was published four months after the first. The author thought well enough of his work to trade on its reputation in 1748. In that year appeared the *Memoirs of the Life of John Medley, Esq.* (Vol. I, 1748; Vol. II, 1756), with the phrase "by the author of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*" on the title-page.

On June 23, 1741, George Faulkner and Oliver Nelson advertised an Irish edition of Vol. I, selling for an English half-crown, and bound to match the first two volumes of the Irish edition of *Pamela* (*Dublin Journal*). Except for the imprint, the title-page of the Irish edition follows in general that of the English, and the format is identical.

63. PAMELA'S CONDUCT IN HIGH LIFE.

Second Edition, 1741, Vol. I only, 12° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.3 × 7.2 cm.

Collation: A² A⁶ B–Dd⁶; pp. xvi + 312.

Contents: See Vol. I, first edition.

Note: In the second signature A, A1 only is signed. P. iv is mispag'd v.

Only one volume was reprinted for the second edition. Vol. II of the first edition was published four months after Vol. I of the first edition; and was combined with Vol. I, second edition, when the set was sold as a work in two volumes.

PAMELA'S
CONDUCT

IN
HIGH LIFE,
To the Time of her DEATH.

Published from her

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

Interspers'd with several True, Moral and
Entertaining INCIDENTS and CHARACTERS.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed for WARD and CHANDLER at the Ship
without Temple-Bar, WOOD at the Dove in
Pater-noster-Row, and WALLER in the Mid-
dle Temple Cloysters.

MDCCLXII.

PAMELA'S
CONDUCT

IN
HIGH LIFE,
TO
The Time of her DEATH.

Publiſh'd from her

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

Interspers'd with

Several True, Moral, and Enter-
taining INCIDENTS and CHARACTERS.

VOLUME I.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for WARD and CHANDLER, at the Ship with
out Temple-Bar; JOHN WOOD, at the Dove in Pater-
noster-Row; and THOMAS WALLER, in the Middle-
Temple Cloysters.

MDCCLXII.

ANTI-PAMELA:

OR,

Feign'd Innocence

DETECTED;

In a SERIES of

**SYRENA'S
ADVENTURES.**

A NARRATIVE which has really its Foundation in Truth and Nature; and at the same time that it entertains, by a vast variety of surprizing Incidents, arms against a partial Credulity, by shewing the Mischiefs that frequently arise from a too sudden Admiration.

Publiſh'd as a neceſſary Caution to all Young Gentlemen.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Huggonſon, in Sword-and-Buckler-Court, over againſt the Crown-Tavern on Ludgate-Hill. M.DCC.XLI.

ANTI-PAMELA:

By **Feign'd Innocence detected;**

In a SERIES of

SYRENA'S ADVENTURES.

A NARRATIVE which has really its Foundation in Truth and Nature; and at the ſame time that it entertains, by a vaſt Variety of ſurprizing Incidents, arms againſt a partial Credulity, by ſhewing the Miſchiefs that frequently ariſe from a too ſudden Admiration.


Publiſh'd as a neceſſary Caution to all Young Gentlemen.

*Finally fair they are, and in their Smiles
The Graces, little Lovers, and young Deities inhabit;
But all that gaze upon them are undone;
For they are Self, humours in their Apperance;
And all the Miſeries they hope for is Variety.
One Lover to another ſill ſucceeds;
Another, and another after that,
And the laſt Fool is welcome as the former;
Till having loſt his Heart out, he grows his Place,
And mingles with the Herd that went before him.*
Rowe's Fair Penitent.

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for F. COGAN, near Temple-Bar.
MDCC.XLII.

 Publication: October 3, 1741; price of the two volumes, 6s. bound (*Craftsman*).

THOUGH advertisements for the first edition of this work led the reader to believe that it was a continuation of Richardson's novel, the advertisements for the second edition designated it as the "genuine Edition," not by the author of *Pamela*; or, *Virtue Rewarded* (see p. 27).

A copy of this edition is in the Harvard library.


64. ANTI-PAMELA.

First Edition, First Issue, 1741, 12°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.3 × 6.5 cm.

Collation: [A]² B–M¹² N¹² (– N¹⁰, 11, 12); pp. [iv] + 282.

Contents: Half-title, verso blank, "ANTI-PAMELA: | OR, | FEIGN'D INNOCENCE | DETECTED.", [i–ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii–iv]; text, [1]–281; blank page, [282].

 Publication: June 20, 1741; price, 2s. stitched, 2s. 6d. bound (*Craftsman*).

THOUGH the author of this work has not been discovered, there is some reason to believe that it was Eliza Haywood (George F. Whicher, *Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood*, New York, 1915, pp. 22–23; and *Downs*, p. 195). But Whicher points out that if Mrs. Haywood wrote *Anti-Pamela* she was biting the hand that fed her. Her translation of the Chevalier de Mouhy's *La Paysanne Parvenue*, under the title of *The Virtuous Villager*, probably owed what popularity it achieved to its resemblance in theme to *Pamela*.

A translation of *Anti-Pamela* into French by Mr. D. M*** [Eleazar de Mauvillon, 1712–1779], was published in 1743 under the title *L'Anti-Pamela. Ou la fauſſe Innocence Découverte dans les Avantures de Syreſne*, Amsterdam and Leipzig. Notice of this translation appeared in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, XXII, 358. For other "Anti-Pamela's," see Nos. 66, 67, 68.

65. ANTI-PAMELA.

Second Edition, 1742, 12°. (This is the second issue of the first edition).


Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.6 × 7.3 cm. The comma after "or" (second line) is missing in the copy in the Boston Athenaeum Library.

Collation: π1 [A]1 B–M¹² N¹² (– N¹⁰, 11, 12); pp. [iv] + 282.

Contents: As in first issue.

Note: This is a second issue of the sheets of the first edition with a new title-page. Huggonson, whose name appears in the imprint of the first issue, is not known to have been in business after 1741. Late in 1741, or early in 1742 Cogan must have taken over from

Huggonson's stock the copies of the first issue which remained unsold. He then had the new title-page printed with his name on it. It would obviously be to his advantage to have this second issue dated 1742 and to call it a "second edition."

 *Publication*: I have found no advertisement by which accurately to date the publication of this second issue. It was advertised in a list of books offered for sale by Cogan on February 3, 1742 (*Daily Post*). In March it was listed as one of two books which might be purchased from Eliza Haywood at the Sign of Fame, Covent Garden (see page of advertisements, Eliza Haywood's translation, *The Virtuous Villager*, 2 vols., 1742, Vol. I, p. 332; this book was published, according to the *Daily Post*, March 25, 1742). For Mrs. Haywood's possible connection with the writing of *Anti-Pamela*, see p. 116.

WHEN Cogan went into bankruptcy in 1746, the copyright of *Anti-Pamela* was bought by John Nourse. For this copyright and a half-share in two other books, Nourse paid only 10s. 6d. (*B.M. Add. MSS.*, 38, 730, III, f. 9). The value of the book decreased rapidly when its sale was no longer stimulated by *Pamela's* popularity.

The quotation on the title-page is from a speech of Horatio near the end of Act I.

66. THE TRUE ANTI-PAMELA, by James Parry.

First Edition, 1741, 12°. (For a pirated edition, see no. 67).


Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.7 × 7.4 cm.

Collation: [A]², ¹B-M¹² N⁶ [*]¹, ²B-E¹² F¹; pp. iv + 276 + [ii] + 98. (1 leaf for engraved frontispiece.)

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; dedication, [iii]-iv; text of *Memoirs*, [1]-275; blank page, [276]; fly-title, verso blank, "LOVE LETTERS | THAT PASSED BETWEEN | Mr. JAMES PARRY | AND | PARTHENISSA, &c. | . . . | LONDON: | Printed in the YEAR M, DCC, XLI.", [i-ii]; text of *Letters*, [1]-98.

Illustrations: The frontispiece is a half-length portrait of James Parry, looking to his right, and with his right hand inserted in his waistcoat. On a stand before him is an open music book. The engraving is signed D[aniel] Fournier, del., and J. Mynde, Sc.

Note: ¹B6 is unsigned; ²B6, ²C6, ²D6, ²E6 are unsigned.

 *Publication*: June 27, 1741; price, 3s. bound (*Craftsman*).

A MONTH before publication, when this book was announced as in the press, the title read *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. James Parry . . . being the Anti-Pamela of Monmouthshire* (*Daily Gazetteer*, May 26). Two weeks later it seemed best either to the author or to his booksellers to trade more directly upon the reputation of *Pamela*, and the advertisements

THE TRUE
ANTI-PAMELA:
OR,
MEMOIRS
OF
Mr. James Parry,

Late ORGANIST of *Refs* in *Herefordshire*.

In which are inserted,
His AMOURS with the Celebrated
Mifs — of *Monmouthshire*.

Written by Himself.

In Two PARTS Compleat.
PART I. MEMOIRS of his LIFE and AMOURS.
PART II. Genuine LETTERS of Love and Gallantry.

*Beware the dangerous Beauty of the Wanton;
Shun their Enticements; Run, like a Fugitive,
Waits on their Conquest: Foolish too! their Business
They put false Beauty off to all the World;
Use false Endearments to the Fools that love them;
And when they marry, to their filly Husbands
They bring false Virtue, broken Fame and Fortune.*

OTWAY.

LONDON,
Printed for the AUTHOR; and Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country. 1741.
[Price Three Shillings]

then indicated that the book would be called *Anti-Pamela: Or, Memoirs of Mr. James Parry* (*Daily Advertiser*, June 12). But on June 20—a week before Parry's book was finally published—there appeared *Anti-Pamela; or, Feign'd Innocence Detected*. Consequently, Parry's *Memoirs* were finally published as the *True Anti-Pamela*, and gained notoriety from both *Pamela* and *Anti-Pamela*.

Advertisements previous to the book's publication announced that it was printed for J. Torbuck, H. Slater, F. Noble, J. Rowlands, T. Wright, and J. Duncan (*Daily Advertiser*, June 12). But when the book was actually published these booksellers sought anonymity behind the phrase "Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country." This may be accounted for by the scandalous nature of the work. Parry says in his preface that the heroine of Richardson's novel was a poor, innocent virgin, who withstood all the attacks of a person of fortune; while the heroine of his book is a rich and prominent young woman, who led him to his ruin by promises of marriage which were never fulfilled. He provides enough circumstantial data in his *Memoirs* to identify many of the people mentioned under the thin disguise of initials (see W. J. T. Collins, "A Scandal of Old Monmouthshire," *Monmouthshire Review*, I, 8–27). Owners of copies have frequently filled in the blanks left in Parry's text (Yale, Singer). The anti-heroine, for instance, was Mary Powell, daughter of William Powell of Llantilio Crossenny, and (after her jilting of James Parry), wife of John Lewis. Mary Powell lived until June 3, 1760.

The date line at the end of Parry's preface indicates that the book was finished on June 12, 1741, immediately before he set sail on *The Revenge*, a privateer proceeding against the Spaniards. The quotation on the title-page of the *Memoirs* is from Otway's *Orphan*, Act III, Sc. i.

An Irish edition, in all likelihood pirated, was published in duodecimo by Thomas Armitage, in Crampton Court, Dublin. No date appears on the title-page, but it probably appeared in 1741. The frontispiece of this Irish edition is a half-length portrait of Parry, which bears little resemblance to the portrait in the English edition. It is a full-face portrait of a man with his left hand in his waistcoat, a music book opened before him, and a sketch of the pipes of an organ in the background. This engraving is signed "T. Jameson Sculp^t." I have not identified Jameson. This edition gives all evidence of having been set up from a printed text (see no. 67, the London piracy of this work).

Another *Anti-Pamela*, purporting to be translated from English into French, and to have been published in London, appeared in 1742, with another edition in 1743. Its title was *Antipamela ou Memoires de M. D.*****. The imprint is simply "A Londres. M. DCC. XLII." The text in both editions seems to be the same, although the edition of 1742 has 152 pages, while that of 1743 has 112 pages. No indication of the number of the edition is given on either title-page. In 1744 the *Bibliothèque Britannique* pointed out that this book was actually printed in Paris and not in London; and that it pretended with little enough reason to be a translation of Parry's *Memoirs* (XXII, 366, 368). The author of the notice in this periodical thought that the book was not only printed but also published in France. He thought it the original work of a Frenchman. Barbier attributes this book to Claude Villaret (c. 1715–1766), but Dau-nou in the *Biographie Universelle* challenges this ascription.

67. THE TRUE ANTI-PAMELA.

Pirated Edition, 1741, 12° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.9 × 7 cm.

Collation: A-Ll^o Mm^o (— Mm6); pp. vi + 412 (see below). (1 leaf for engraved portrait?).

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; dedication, [iii]-vi; text of *Memoirs*, [7]-316; text of *Letters*, [317]-418.

Illustrations: In the only copy of this piracy found (Yale), a portrait of Parry is pasted to a fly-leaf immediately preceding the title-page. This fly-leaf is not from the same stock of paper on which the book is printed. I think it likely that the pirated edition appeared with the portrait (printed on Mm6); and that a former owner of the Yale copy, finding the leaf torn, elected to trim its edges and paste the portrait to a fly-leaf. The advertisements for the genuine edition announced that it contained a frontispiece—"the Head of the Author curiously engraved" (*Craftsman*, June 27, 1741). In consequence, the pirates would have provided a portrait for their edition.

The frontispiece in this piracy is a half-length portrait of Parry, looking to his left. In the genuine edition Parry is facing to his right. In the genuine edition the background is plain; in the pirated edition the background consists of a group of organ pipes. The engraving in the piracy is signed "D. Fourniea, del." [for Fournier]; and "M. Le Rolou(?), Sculp.". Probably M. Le Rolou is simply an alias for the engraver who copied the original work for the pirates. He apparently had some difficulty in deciphering the name of Fournier. In copying the engraving, M. Le Rolou would naturally reverse the position of Parry's body, so that he would be looking to the left rather than to the right.

Note: In addition to the evidence provided by the frontispieces of the two editions, the following reasons may be advanced for describing this copy as a piracy:

1. The pagination and signatures suggest that it was set from a printed text; and the saving of a line on the title-page by more economical setting suggests that the printer of this book had another's experience by which to profit.
2. The use of the name "Miss P——" on the title-page, rather than "Miss——", suggests that the publishers of this edition had less fear of a suit in libel.
3. The absence of the price from the title-page suggests that the work was printed to undersell the genuine edition, if necessary.
4. The title-page of an Irish piracy of this work (see p. 118) follows most closely the title-page of this edition; it likewise refers to the heroine as "Miss P——", and omits the price. But the second English edition (see no. 68) has a title-page

THE TRUE
ANTI-PAMELA:OR
MEMOIRS
OF
Mr. James Parry,

Late ORGANIST of *Raſt* in *Herefordſhire*.

In which are *Inſerted*,
His AMOURS with the Celebrated
Miſs *Paruel* of *Maumouthſhire*.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

In Two PARTS Compleat.

PART I. MEMOIRS of his *Life* and *Amours*,
PART II. Genuine *LETTERS* of *Love* and *Galantry*.

*Beware the dangerous Beauty of the Woman;
Shun their Enticements; Ruin, And a Vultures
Wants on their Conquests; Fulſome to's their Enſigns;
They put ſulſe Beauty off to all the World;
Uſe ſulſe Endearments to the Fools that love them;
And when they marry, to their filly Huſbands.
They bring ſulſe Virtue, broken Fame and Fortune,
Or away.*

L O N D O N,
Printed for the AUTHOR, and ſold by the
Bookſellers in Town and Country. 1741.

THE TRUE
ANTI-PAMELA:

OR,

MEMOIRS
OF
Mr. James Parry,

Late ORGANIST of *Rosé* in *Herefordshire*.

In which are inserted,
His AMOURS with the Celebrated
Miss — of *Monmouthshire*.

Written by Himself.

Interpers'd with many Curious and Entertaining
LOVE-LETTERS which passed between them.

The SECOND EDITION, carefully revised

*Beware the dangerous Beauty of the Wanton;
Shun their Enticements; Ruin, like a Vulture,
Waits on their Conquests: Falshood too's their Business;
They put false Beauty off to all the World;
U's false Endearments to the Fools that love them;
And when they marry, to their silly Husbands
They bring false Virtue, broken Fame and Fortune.*

OTWAY.

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR, and Sold by the Book-
sellers in Town and Country. 1742.

[Price Three Shillings.]

PAMELA

IN

HIGH LIFE:

OR,

VIRTUE Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

FAMILIAR LETTERS

FROM

PAMELA to her PARENTS.

Carefully extracted from Original Manu-
scripts, communicated to the EDITOR
by her Son.

Wherein a faithful Account is given of her Noble
and Pious Actions, worthy Imitation

From her MARRIAGE


TO HER

DEATH.

LONDON:

Printed for MARY KINOMAN, at the
Corner of *Switbin's Alley*, near the *Royal Exchange*. 1741.

which follows the style of the title-page of no. 66; and the frontispiece of this second English edition is printed from the same plate as that used in no. 66.

 *Publication*: No advertisements found. The fact that the publishers of no. 66 chose to omit their names from its title-page would make it unnecessary for the pirates to advertise their edition; or would make it impossible to detect which edition was being advertised.

68. **THE TRUE ANTI-PAMELA.**

Second Edition, 1742 [pub. 1741], 12°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.8 × 7.4 cm.


Collation: A-P¹²; pp. vi + 354 (see below). (The frontispiece was printed on the verso of A1).

Contents: Frontispiece, recto blank, [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [iii-iv]; dedication, [v]-vi; text, [7]-359; blank page, [360].

Illustrations: As in first edition.

Note: Contrary to the case in the first edition and in the pirated edition, the *Letters* are here incorporated in the text of the *Memoirs*.

In signature A, A1 and A12 are not conjugate. Apparently A1 was cut and removed for the printing of the engraving.

 *Publication*: October 17, 1741; price, 3s. bound (*Craftsman*).

THE text was revised for this edition, but if Parry's account of his movements can be trusted, he left England in June, 1741, and could not well have had a hand in the revision of the text for the edition published in October of that year.

In 1770 a "second edition, with additions" was published in two volumes for J. Lever, at Little Moorgate, near Moorfields. The additions consist of an account of Parry's adventures on the privateer, *The Revenge*, and conclude with his death and subsequent burial at sea. They may be entirely fictitious, but in any case it seems unlikely that Parry actually had a hand in the writing of any of this new material. The frontispiece of Vol. I is a copy of the engraving of Parry's portrait, and the frontispiece of Vol. II purports to be a picture of Mr. Parry and the crew of the privateer, "returning from plundering Point Niger, with the Spaniards Pelting them with Stones."

69. **PAMELA IN HIGH LIFE.**

First Edition, 1741, 12° in half-sheets. (This work was originally issued in three parts.)

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.3 × 7.3 cm. The first reproduction is of the title-page of the book containing all three parts.

The reproduction given below this one is apparently the title-page as printed for the parts when they were issued separately. The type page of the second reproduction measures 13.5×7.2 cm.


Collation: $\pi^2 A^2 B-Pp^6 Qq^4$; pp. [viii] + 452.

Contents: Title-page (first reproduction), verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [iii-iv]; title-page (second reproduction), verso blank, [v-vi]; preface (identical with first preface), [vii-viii]; text, [1]-452.

Note: The only copy of this work found is in the Harvard Treasure Room. The text and pagination is continuous, and there is no positive indication of the fact that the book was published in parts. An advertisement on October 15, 1741, however, announced the publication of Part I; and promised publication of Part II on October 27, and of the third and concluding part at a later but unspecified date (*Daily Advertiser*). Evidence of "stabbing" may be found in the inner margins of this bound copy.

The second title-page gives the title substantially as it appeared in the advertisement of Part I. A comparison of the text of this second title with that of Richardson's own novel reveals that this spurious continuation was intended to pass for Richardson's own sequel, *Pamela*, Vols. III and IV. Below the advertisement for Part I was printed the following notice: "The Reader, by comparing this with *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* [see no. 62], will easily perceive a wide Difference in the Story". The publisher of *Pamela in High Life* seems to have hoped that it might be mistaken for Richardson's own continuation of *Pamela*, which he had advertised as "in the press" on August 13, 1741 (*Daily Gazetteer*). In view of these facts, I think we may safely assume that the second title-page was the one designed originally for Part I; and that it, and the duplicate preface which follows, should have been removed when the first title-page and preface were prepared for the collected parts.

X2 is signed U2.

 Publication: Part I, October 15, 1741; price, 1s. (*Daily Advertiser*). See note above. I have found no advertisement for the collected parts.

THE author of this continuation of *Pamela* has not been discovered. The fact that it was published in parts may account for the frequently reappearing rumours that *Pamela* itself was so published.

Both this sequel and the second volume of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* carry the story through the death of the heroine. Richardson, however, leaves her as a happy wife and mother, embarked on the career of rearing her children in the paths of virtue.

The copy at Harvard is bound in boards, with the wrapper of the *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, September, 1766, pasted on the front of the book.

P A M E L A
I N

HIGH LIFE:

O R,

V I R T U E Rewarded.

In a SERIES of

F A M I L I A R L E T T E R S

FROM

PAMELA to her PARENTS.

Carefully extracted from Original Manuscripts, communicated to the EDITOR by her Son.

Never before Printed, and now first Published,

In order to cultivate the Principles of VIRTUE and RELIGION in the Minds of BOTH SEXES.

L O N D O N:
Printed in the Year, MDCCXLI.

PAMELA: 70. *PAMELA; OR, VIRTUE TRIUMPHANT*, by James Dance (?).

OR,

Virtue Triumphant.

A

COMEDY.

As it was intended to be Acted at the

Theatre Royal in *Drury-Lane*.

L O N D O N.

Printed for SAMUEL LYNE, at the
Globe, in *Newgate-street*. 1741.

[Price One Shilling.]

First Edition, 1741, 8° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.9 × 8.9 cm.*Collation*: [A]² B-M⁴ N²; pp. [iv] + 92. (1 leaf for frontispiece.)*Contents*: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; prologue, [iii]; dramatis personæ, [iv]; text, [1]-92.*Illustrations*: The frontispiece, an anonymous engraving, illustrates a scene from the play.*Note*: I have found only one perfect copy of this book (Tinker). The copy in the Library of Congress lacks the title-page.

P. 14 is mispaged 16. In order to crowd the text within the four pages of N, a smaller size type is used on p. 92.

☞ *Publication*: November 16, 1741; price, 1s. (*Daily Advertiser*).

THE authorship of this play is not known, and the play apparently had no acting history. I think it likely that it was written by James Dance, to whom has been erroneously ascribed the writing of *Pamela. A Comedy*. See no. 71.

71. *PAMELA. A COMEDY*, by Henry Giffard.

First Edition, 1742 [pub. 1741], 8° in half-sheets. (For two pirated editions, see nos. 73, 74.)

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.2 × 8.4 cm.*Collation*: A² π1 (= K4?), B-I⁴ K⁴ (-K4); pp. [vi] + 70.*Contents*: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; dedication, [iii-iv]; prologue, [v]; dramatis personæ, [vi]; text, [1]-68; epilogue, [69]; blank page, [70].☞ *Publication*: November 17, 1741; price, 1s. 6d. (*Daily Advertiser*).

PAMELA.

A

COMEDY.

As it is Perform'd, *GRATIS*,

AT THE

LATE THEATRE

IN

GOODMAN'S-FIELDS.



L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ROBINSON, at the *GOLDEN-LION*,
in *LUDGATE-STREET*, near the *West-End* of
St. Paul's. 1741.

(Price 1s. 6d.)

THIS dramatic version of Richardson's novel has usually been attributed to James Dance, but David Garrick, who acted in the play, said that it was written by Henry Giffard, the manager of Goodman's Fields Theatre, where the comedy was first presented (see Sale, "The First Dramatic Version of *Pamela*," *Yale University Library Gazette*, IX, 83-88). It is possible that Dance was the author of *Pamela; or, Virtue Triumphant* (see no. 70). Giffard's authorship of this comedy is further confirmed by a remark in the preface to an operatic version of the text. Here it is stated that this comedy was written by an author who had supplied the stage with "several very polite Pieces" (see p. 128). This remark could apply to Giffard, but it could not apply to Dance. Inasmuch as no attempt was made to assign an author to either of these dramatic versions until

1782, Dance's name may have been associated in error with the version which Garrick attributed to Giffard (see David Erskine Baker, *Biographia Dramatica*, 2nd ed., revised by Isaac Reed, 1782).

Garrick was suspected by some of his contemporaries of having dramatized the novel himself, but he wrote explicitly to his brother: "I had no hand in it at all except writing the French Letter [p. 67] which was vastly lik'd, and tagging the fourth Act [p. 53]." Garrick characterized the play as a shoddy performance, chiefly appealing to "the middling and low Kind of Spectators" (A.L.s., To Peter Garrick, January 31, 1742, in Folger Shakespeare Library, Case III, Folder 12). As late as 1902, Austin Dobson said that Garrick wrote the lines for Jack Smatter, the role which he played in the comedy (*Dobson*, 47-48). The prologue, in praise of the author of the novel, is included in Garrick's collected works.

The first run of the play was from November 9 to November 21, 1741; and it was included in Giffard's repertory for occasional performances during the remainder of the season 1741-1742 (Allardyce Nicoll, *History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, 1700-1750, Cambridge, 1927, p. 317).

Robinson, the publisher of this comedy, carried on a petty war with Samuel Lyne, the publisher of *Pamela; or, Virtue Triumphant*, in the advertising columns of the *Daily Advertiser* from November 9 to November 19, 1741. Lyne's play was announced on November 16 as "the original *Pamela*," while Robinson was not ready for publication until November 17. On this date, Robinson advertised his play as the "genuine Comedy of *Pamela*," inscribed to Princess Amelia; and he warned the public against a play "said to be a Thing design'd to be acted at Drury Lane."

Robinson not only had to meet competition from the comedy published by Lyne, but he was also further embarrassed by the publication of two pirated editions of Giffard's text (see nos. 73, 74). The edition pirated by Hubbard was described by Robinson as "a spurious mangled Piece, hawk'd about under the Title of this Play, at the Price of Six Pence" (*Daily Advertiser*, November 19, 1741).

For a discussion of French dramatic versions of *Pamela* and the other novels of Richardson, see Bernard A. Facticeau, *Les Romans de Richardson sur la Scène Française*, Paris, [1927].

72. PAMELA. A COMEDY.

Second Edition, 1742, 8° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.5 × 8.4 cm.

Collation: A-I⁴ [K]²; pp. 76.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; dedication, [3-4]; prologue, [5]; dramatis personæ, [6]; text, [7]-74; epilogue, [75]; bookseller's advertisement, [76].

Note: There is no indication on the title-page that this is the second edition, and both first and second editions are dated 1742. But the pagination and the signing of the leaves clearly indicates that the book described above was set in type from a printed text; that the printer had the experience of an earlier edition to guide him in an economical resetting and printing of this edition. Furthermore, the

P A M E L A. A C O M E D Y.

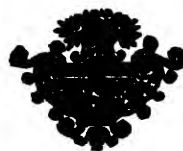
As it is Perform'd, GRATIS,

AT THE

L A T E T H E A T R E

I N

G O O D M A N ' S - F I E L D S .




L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBINSON, at the GOLDEN-LION
in LUDGATE-STREET, near the West-end of
St. PAUL. 1742.

[Price One Shilling.]

advertisements for the second edition give the price as 1s.; and this price appears on the title-page reproduced. The price of the first edition was advertised as 1s. 6d.; and this price appears on the title-page of the first edition.

 *Publication*: November 16, 1742; price, 1s. (*Daily Advertiser*).

THE reduction of price for the second edition may have been occasioned by the competition which Robinson met with from Lyne's edition and from the piracies; or perhaps the play's withdrawal from the boards during the season of 1742–1743 accounted for the waning appeal of the printed version.

A copy of this edition is in the Harvard library.

PAMELA.

A

COMEDY.

As it is Perform'd, *GRATIS*,

AT THE

LATE THEATRE

IN

GOODMAN'S-FIELDS.



L O N D O N :

Printed for Jo. MILLER, in Fleet-street. 1741.

73. PAMELA. A COMEDY.

Pirated Edition, for Miller, 1741, 8° in half sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 15.6 × 7.8 cm.


Collation: [A]⁴(A1 + 1), B–F⁴ G⁴(– G4); pp. 56 (see below).

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1–2]; dedication, [an inserted leaf, unpagued]; prologue, [3]; dramatis personæ, [4]; text, [5]–52; epilogue, [53]; bookseller's advertisement, [54].

Note: The reasons for describing this edition as a piracy are as follows: Robinson, who published what I have described as the genuine first edition, was a well-known bookseller, while Jo. Miller may have been no more than a concocted name for an imprint. Robinson's edition was frequently advertised; Miller's never. Miller's edition seems clearly to have been set up from a printed text, as the pagination and the signing of the leaves indicate. The inclusion of the dedication to Princess Amelia was the result of an obvious late decision, undoubtedly provoked by the fact that Robinson pointed out in his advertisements that the genuine edition could be recognized from spurious ones because it contained this dedication. Miller then had this dedication printed (probably on G4), and inserted it in the first gathering.

The format and position of the printer's ornaments in both editions suggest that one was seeking to imitate the other; and there is no reason to believe that Robinson was not dealing in an open-handed manner. The fact that Miller's edition is dated 1741, and that Robinson's is dated 1742 may be easily accounted for when we remember that Robinson actually published his edition in November, 1741.

B2 is unsigned.

 *Publication*: I have found no advertisements for this piracy. Presumably it was published between November 17, 1741—the date of publication of Robinson's edition—and the end of the year.

74. PAMELA. A COMEDY.

Pirated Edition, for Hubbard, 1741, 12° in half-sheets.


Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.7 × 7.4 cm.

Collation: π1 (engraved frontispiece), [A]² B-F⁶; pp. 66.

Contents: Frontispiece, recto blank, [1-2]; title-page, with dedication on verso, [3-4]; prologue, [5]; dramatis personæ, [6]; text, 7-64; epilogue, [65]; blank page, [66].

Illustrations: The frontispiece is an unsigned engraving, illustrating the marriage of Pamela and Mr. B.

Note: For another pirated edition, see no. 73. The pagination and signatures indicate that this edition was set up from a printed text. E3 is unsigned. P. 36 is mispagined 56.

 *Publication:* I have found no advertisements for this piracy, but Robinson, the publisher of the genuine edition, advertised against this illegal rival on November 19. He was still warning the public against it in December (*Daily Gazetteer*, December 5). In November he stigmatized this edition as "a spurious mangled Piece, hawk'd about under the Title of this Play, at the Price of Six Pence." (*Daily Advertiser*).


75. THE VIRGIN IN EDEN, by Charles Povey.

First Edition, First Issue, 1741, 8° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 17.3 × 9.2 cm.

Collation: π1 (= P4?), A-O⁴ P⁴ (- P4); pp. [ii] + vi + 112 (see below).

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [i]-ii; introduction, [iii]-vi; text, [7]-117; "Catalogue of points the author has written on and published," 117-118.

 *Publication:* November 23, 1741; price, 1s. 6d. in marble paper; 2s. 6d. bound in calf (*Daily Advertiser*).

THIS attack on *Pamela* was written by Charles Povey, an author of miscellaneous religious pamphlets and the projector of various fire and life insurance schemes. Though only certain sections of this book (pp. 68-79) are devoted directly to an exposure of *Pamela*, the author wrote in his preface that his whole book was called into being by a desire to set the story of his virgin in contrast to Richardson's inflammatory tale. He felt the importance of his mission so strongly that at the age of eighty, he wrote: "Good God! what can Youths and Virgins learn from *Pamela's* Letters, more than Lessons to tempt their Chastity; those Epistles are only Scenes of Immodesty, painted in Images of Virtue; Disguises in Masquerade, as I shall prove, both from Truth and Reason, in the Conclusion of this my Work." (The *D.N.B.* gives Povey's dates as 1652?-1743; Povey gives his age as eighty in the preface to this work of 1741).

But Povey, in spite of his misgivings, is witness to the popularity of *Pamela* when he describes the novel as having "obtained a glorious Charac-

PAMELA.

A
COMEDY.

As it is Perform'd Gratis,

AT THE
LATE THEATRE

IN
Goodman's-Fields.



L O N D O N :

Printed for H. HUBBARD, near the
Royal Exchange. 1741

(Price Six pence)

EXAMPLES

Examples to court, or at least aimed in every Family, either the Father, the Mother, the Son, or the Daughter.



THE COMPANY

The Company and Country's PILGRIMS met with at Abraham's House, are Emblem of what Angels enjoy in the Regions beyond the Grave.

EXAMPLES

EXAMPLES

THE
VIRGIN in EDEN:
OR, THE
State of INNOCENCY.

Deliver'd by way of Image and Description.

PRESENTING
A Nobleman, a Student, and Heir, on their Progress from Sodom to Canaan.

With the PARABLE of the Shepherd, Zachariah, and Mary, who dwell in statched Tenements, secluded from Noise and Snares. Their holy Living and Dying.

To which are added,

PAMELA's Letters proved to be immodest Rascals; painted in Images of Virtue, Masquerades in Disguise, that receive's Birth near Vain reigns in Triumph, and dwells in Streams even to a Deluge.

In this Treatise are the Divine Sayings of Queen Mary and Corinna in publick Afflictions and secret Complaints. Taken from their own Manuscripts.

The Decree of God appoints these Records to be kept in every House, in every Kingdom and State, from one Generation to another, till the great Fall of Nature.

Wrote by the Author of the above entitled, *Flowers after Death*. That Copy, of which each 1000 Members were printed and sold, Four, Seven, and in some Places Twenty, so find into the Country and beyond the Seas.

L O N D O N : Printed by J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-Lane*, and sold by each in all Pamphlets and News-Papers; and at the Author's House, N^o. 9. in *Leeds*. (St. Bruns, Goodman's-Fields. M DCC XL I.)

Print 1s. 6d. in Marble-Paper, and 2s. 6d. bound in Cal^d-Leather.

ter in the Eye of some," and when he points out that "the World hath seen and read with Attention those Volumes" which told Pamela's story.

In the section of the *Virgin in Eden* which directly attacks *Pamela*, Povey published letters purporting to come from a clergyman of the Church of England; a Quaker, who refused to have the novel in his house; a young nobleman; and a young lady of St. James's Square. The letters are all dated in the first few days of August, 1741, thus providing a clue to the date of composition of Povey's attack.


76. *THE VIRGIN IN EDEN*.

Second Edition, 1741, 8° in half-sheets. (This is the second issue of the first edition.)

Title-page: As in first issue, with a plain rule and the line, "*The SECOND EDITION*," added immediately above the imprint.

Collation and Contents: As in first issue.

Note: This is a second issue of the sheets of the first edition. The type used for the title-page of both issues is the same, but the type page was opened and a line and a rule added before the title-pages of the second issue were printed. Obviously these title-pages were not printed on P4.

 *Publication*: No advertisement found.

THE existence of third and fourth editions (or issues) of the *Virgin in Eden* is indicated by the "fifth edition," 1767; but I have found neither of them. Povey died in 1743. The so-called fifth edition is a page for page reprint of the first, with the omission of the "Catalogue of points," pp. 117-118.

77. *MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF LADY H—*.


First Edition, 1741(?), 8° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Missing in only copy found.

Collation: B-H⁴ I²; pp. 60 (see below).

Contents: Text, 1-24; and 33[for 25]-67[for 59]; blank page, [60].

Note: The only copy found is in the B.M.

 *Publication*: December 4, 1741; price, 1s. (*Daily Advertiser*).

IN describing a book without a title-page, one is confined to conjectural remarks, but this seems to be the work advertised for sale by T. Cooper, a pamphlet-shopkeeper, under the title "Memoirs of the Life of Lady H—, the celebrated Pamela, from her Birth to the present Time" (*Daily Advertiser*, December 4, 1741). The heading on the first page of the text of the British Museum copy follows this title through the word "Pamela."

The author of these *Memoirs* tells us at the outset that in this instance of "virtue rewarded" the facts "are related in their natural Colours, and

the Reader will not be kept in suspense by the artful Clue of Romantic Amusements." Lady H—— and Sir A——, the heroine and hero of the tale, are undoubtedly thin disguises for Sir Arthur and Lady Hesilrige (or Haselrig). Sir Arthur married Hannah Sturges in 1725. She is still identified as Pamela's "original" in Burke's *Peerage*. For the best discussion of her right to this honor, see *Notes and Queries*, 10 S. IX, 361, ff.

78. THE LIFE OF PAMELA.

First Edition, 1741, in alternate eights and fours with vertical chain lines.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.7×7 cm.


Collation: [A]₁ B–G^s and ⁴, H^s I–Tt^s and ⁴; pp. [ii] + 496. (1 leaf for engraved frontispiece; and 9 leaves of engraved illustrations throughout book.)

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i–ii]; text, [1]–495; blank page, [496].

Illustrations: The frontispiece and engravings are engraved by I. Carwitham. The frontispiece faces the title-page; and the first illustration, not marked for the binder, faces p. 1. The remaining eight illustrations are marked to face pp. 43, 68, 96, 146, 161, 224, 252, 287.

Note: The vertical chain lines in this book can be accounted for in several ways. The printer may have been working with paper about twice the ordinary size, which he had cut in half; or he may have been working with sheets somewhat larger than ordinary, from which one-third had been cut away. In the latter case, the chain lines of the two-third sheets would run parallel to the longer edge when the paper was placed upon the tympan. Though I have found no uncut copy of this book, the page size of a trimmed copy (Yale) measures 16.5×10.2 cm. This suggests an uncut page that is wider in proportion to its height than that of the ordinary duodecimo. Unfortunately no watermarks are discernible in copies examined.

This book may have been originally issued in parts. Evidence of "stabbing" may be found in the inner margins of the leaves. Furthermore, sections of the book are numbered in Roman numerals from II to XXI. These numbers are printed on the recto of D₁, F₁, H₁, and on alternate first leaves of signatures from I₁ through Ss₁.

 *Publication*: Presumably published in 1741, but I have found no advertisement earlier than 1743, when the book was included in a list for sale by T. Read, Dogwell Court, White-Fryers. Its price was 4s. bound (*St. James Evening Post*, February 19–22).

THE author of this book is unknown to me. It is a retelling of Pamela's story, somewhat elaborated, and translated from a series of letters and journal entries to a straightforward narrative. The author professed

T H E
L I F E
O F
P A M E L A

B E I N G

A full and particular RELATION of the Birth and Advancement of that Fortunate and Beautiful young Dame, who, from the lowest Degree of Rural Life, came to be the Mistress of a most splendid House and Fortune, by her steady Adherence to the Principles of Virtue and Honour.

S H E W I N G

The various Arts that were used to seduce and betray her; and in what Manner she triumph'd in her Innocence and Chastity: With what Decency and Propriety she supported the exalted Station to which she was rais'd; and with what exemplary Piety she finish'd a Life that was attended with so many hazardous Attacks upon her Constancy and Virtue.

*Example draws, where Precept fails;
And Sermons are left read than Tails.*

Illustrated with a great Number of COPPER-PLATES describing her in the different Stations of Life.

L O N D O N :
Printed for C. WHITEFIELD, in White Fryers.
MDCCLII.

having rescued Pamela's character "from the ridiculous Absurdities that have hitherto attended it" (p. 165).

79. *JOSEPH ANDREWS*, by Henry Fielding.

First Edition, February 22, 1742, 2 vols. [1,500 copies], 12°.

Second Edition, August, 1742, 2 vols. [2,000 copies], 12°.

Third Edition, March 24, 1743, 2 vols. [3,000 copies], 12°.

Fourth Edition, November 5, 1748, but dated 1749, 2 vols. [2,000 copies], 12°.

Fifth Edition, 1751, 2 vols. [2,000 copies], 12°.

(See Wilbur L. Cross, *History of Henry Fielding*, 3 vols., New Haven, 1918, III, 305-306; and *Joseph Andrews*, ed. J. Paul de Castro, London, 1929, pp. 17-18).

JOSEPH ANDREWS was first published in the format of *Pamela*, and sold for the same price—six shillings, bound. Bibliographical descriptions of the five editions which appeared during Richardson's lifetime do not seem fitting or necessary in this study. But in the interest of completeness I have included a few facts concerning the book which Richardson felt was a "Jew'd and ungenerous engraftment" upon *Pamela* (*Barbault*, IV, 286). For a review of the relations of Richardson and Fielding at this time, see *Modern Philology*, XXVIII, 424-425; and the letters of George Cheyne to Richardson, *Laing MSS.* (University of Edinburgh), III, 356, Letters LV, LVI.

All five of these editions of *Joseph Andrews* are in the Yale Library. The first three are described by Cross (*loc. cit.*).

P A M E L A:

O R,

Virtue Rewarded.

A N

O P E R A.

Alter'd from the Comedy, call'd, PAMELA,

By Mr. E D G E,

Author of, *The WOMAN of TASTE: And the
SMALL RAKE; or, MODERN FINE LADY.*

— Virtue, the more it is expos'd,
Like purest Linnen, laid in open Air,
Will bleach the more, and whiten to the View.

DRYD. AMPHIL.

To suppliant Virtue, nothing is deny'd.

GARTH. OVID

For Blessings ever wait on virtuous Deeds;
And, tho' a late, a sure Reward succeeds.

MOURN. BRIDE

NEWCASTLE:

Printed by J. WHITE; and sold by the Book-
sellers in Town and Country.

MDCCXLII.

80. *PAMELA: AN OPERA*, by Mr. Edge.


First Edition, 1742, 12° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.6 × 7.5 cm.

Collation: [B]⁴ C-E⁶ F²; pp. viii + 40 (see below).

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; prologue, [iii]; epilogue, [iv]; preface, [v]-vii; dramatis personæ, [viii]; text, [25]-64.

Note: The only copy found (Yale) seems complete in spite of the irregularities in pagination and signatures. I cannot see that one conjecture is better than another in accounting for these peculiarities.

 *Publication*: No advertisements found.

NO material information concerning the author of this operatic version of *Pamela*, other than that supplied by the title-page, has been found. The text is an adaptation of the dramatic version made by Giffard (see no. 71). The prologue and epilogue are reprinted from the text of the original comedy.

In spite of his partial debt to the play, Edge said in his preface that this comedy was the worst he had seen in a long acquaintance with the theatre, though written by an author who had supplied the stage with

"several very polite Pieces." Later in the preface, Edge offered evidence in extenuation of Giffard: "To my Knowledge, several different Persons were writing on that Subject at the same Time and happy was he who could draw the Scene first." For another dramatic version, see no. 70.


81. LETTRE SUR PAMELA.

First Edition, 1742, 12° in alternate eights and fours.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 11 × 5.7 cm.

Collation: π1 A⁸ B⁴ C⁸ D1; pp. [ii] + 42.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, [1]-41; blank page, [42].

 Publication: No advertisement found.

THIS book is ascribed by Barbier to the Abbé Marquet de la Maison de Sorbonne. I have found no other edition. The author shares with Charles Povey the doubts which he expressed in the *Virgin in Eden* (see no. 75) concerning the purity of Richardson's heroine.

A copy of this pamphlet is in the B.M.


82. PAMELA: OR, THE FAIR IMPOSTOR.

First English Edition, 1744, 4°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 18.4 × 12.2 cm.

Collation: [A]1 (= 1 leaf of G), B-F⁴ G⁴ (- 1 leaf); pp. [ii] + 46.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; text, 1-46.

 Publication: January 5, 1744; price, 1s. 6d. (*Daily Gazetteer*).

THIS poem was first published in Dublin in 1743, and a copy of the Irish edition may be found in the Bradshaw Collection, Cambridge University. I have not identified the author. The machinery of the sylphs of Pope's *Rape of the Lock* is appropriated by the author, and Mr. B. of Richardson's novel is translated into Sir Blunder. The poem is in heroic couplets.

A poetic version of *Pamela*, by "George Bennet, A.B., late of St. John's College, Oxford," was advertised in London in 1741 (*Daily Advertiser*, July 24). I have not seen this poem; nor can I identify George Bennet. Its title as given in the advertisement follows: "Pamela Versified: or, Virtue Rewarded. An Heroic Poem. Containing her Life, &c. Publish'd in order to cultivate the Principles of Virtue and Religion in the Minds of the Youth of both Sexes. Done from the Original." The following lines from Ovid were printed in the advertisement below the title:

Mens erit apta capi tunc, cum lætissima rerum[,]

Ut seges in pingui[,] luxuriabit[,] humo.

Pectora dum gaudent, nec sunt adstricta dolore,

Ipsa patent: Blanda tum subit. Arte Venus [subit arte Venus].

LETTRE SUR 13 7^a PAMELA.



L O N D R E S,

1742.

P A M E L A: OR, THE FAIR IMPOSTOR. A P O E M, In FIVE CANTOS.

Famineum ferveile genus, crudele, superbum.

JO. BART.

Postremo, captus amore Aurelia Orsilla, cuius, præter formam, nihil unquam bonus laudavit.

SALLUST.

By J - - - W - - - , Esq;

L O N D O N:

Printed for E. BAYNE, under the Crown Coffee-house, against Bedford-Row, Holborn:

And Sold by J. ROBERTS, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane. MDCCXLIV.

(Price One Shilling and Sixpence.)

These lines are an attempt to reproduce Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, I, 359–362. The punctuation in the last line is particularly unhappy. Though the title of the poem suggests an attempt to reproduce Richardson's story in heroic verse, the lines from Ovid lead one to suspect a more questionable motive. Ovid is suggesting that a woman may be seduced without much difficulty when she is in a good humor and has not much to do.

This poem was to be printed in fifteen numbers, "adorn'd with Copper-Plate Cuts." No. I was advertised on July 24, and No. II was announced for next Tuesday in the *Daily Advertiser*, Wednesday, August 12. I have found no further advertising. Below the announcement for No. II, the parts of the poem were described as printed on superfine Dutch demy paper. Purchasers were assured that all the numbers would be published with convenient speed, and that a "proper Introduction to the whole Tale, and particular ones to every Letter where it is requisite to illustrate the Work" would be forthcoming. Each number was to sell for 2d. They might be purchased from A. Ilive, at the Queen's Head in the Old Bailey, and at other pamphlet-shops.

Copies have been found in the Tinker library and at Harvard. The Harvard copy was examined by me when it was in the library of the late Harold Murdock, former director of the Harvard University Press.

PAMELA COMEDIA

DI

CARLO GOLDONI

AVVOCATO VENEZIANO.

PAMELA

A

COMEDY

By CHARLES GOLDONI

Translated into ENGLISH

With the ITALIAN ORIGINAL.



LONDON,

Printed for J. Nourse at the Lamb opposite
Catherine-street in the Strand.

MDCCLVI.

83. PAMELA A COMEDY, by Carlo Goldoni.

First English Edition, 1756, 8°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.6 × 8.4 cm.

Collation: [A]⁶ B–M⁸ N²; pp. xii + 180.

Contents: Title-page, [i]; dedication, alternate pages in Italian and English, [ii]–v; preface, alternate pages in Italian and English, [vi]–xi; blank page, [xii]; dramatis personæ, [1]; text, alternate pages in Italian and English, [2]–179; bookseller's advertisement, [180].

Note: The following pages have no page number: iii, vii, 3, 70, 71, 130, 131. P. ix is mispaged xi, and p. 48 is mispaged 38.

Publication: Presumably published in 1756, but I have found no advertisement earlier than 1757 (*London Evening Post*, April 2–5). The play was published in a volume which included an Italian and English text of Goldoni's *Father of a Family*, separately paged. The two plays were advertised for 5s., in boards.

THIS is the Italian text and English translation of Carlo Goldoni's *Pamela* (or, *Pamela nubile*), published originally in Italian in 1750. It was first produced in Mantua in 1750. I have found no record of a performance of the English translation; and the advertisements of the book recommended it primarily as a ready help in mastering the Italian language.

Goldoni takes many liberties with the plot and spirit of the novel. In seeking to win the approval of an Italian audience, he presents Pamela's father as a nobleman in disguise and allows her master to share in the secret while Pamela remains unenlightened. The motivation of the novel is

thus seriously distorted. In 1759 Goldoni wrote a play called *Pamela maritata*, with a plot entirely of his own invention.

Advertisements for the play pointed out that the comedy had enjoyed an unusual success in most of the principal cities of Italy, where it had been acted and read, printed and reprinted.


84. REMARKS ON CLARISSA.

First Edition, 1749, 8° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.4 × 8.3 cm.

Collation: A-G⁴; pp. 56.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text, [3]-56.

 *Publication*: January 7, 1749; price, 1s. (*Daily Advertiser*).

RICHARDSON referred to this essay as a little piece by a lady, "published in Defence of the History of Clarissa" (*Forster MSS.*, XV, 2, f. 36, a note to a letter, dated January, 1749). I do not know the name of the lady; but it is certainly the work of one well disposed toward Richardson. Downs (p. 82) suggests that it might have been fostered by Richardson as part of a publicity program. There is a certain similarity between the arguments presented in this pamphlet and the arguments presented elsewhere by Richardson in his own support; but the nature of these arguments is not so striking that we must presume collusion.

An uncut copy (Tinker) measures 21.9 × 13.6 cm.


85. CRITICAL REMARKS ON SIR CHARLES GRANDISON.

First Edition, 1754, 8° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.9 × 8.3 cm.

Collation: A-H⁴; pp. 64.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text, [3]-59; postscript, 59-64.

 *Publication*: At noon, February 21, 1754; price, 1s. (*Daily Advertiser*).

THE title of this pamphlet as given in the advertisements is somewhat longer than that of the title-page. After the word "Morals" is the added phrase, "with some Reflections on two late Inspectors." The *Inspectors*, periodical essays written by "Sir" John Hill, were published at that date in the *London Daily Advertiser and Literary Gazetteer*. The author of the critical remarks was thus attacking both Richardson and Hill, between whom business and perhaps friendly relations existed (See A.L.s., Hill to Richardson, December, 1759, in the possession of Lorande Loss Woodruff, Yale University).

The two *Inspectors* referred to in the advertisement appeared in the *London Daily Advertiser*, February 9 and 13, 1754. The *Critical Remarks* was published on February 21, and we may thus date at least a por-

REMARKS ON CLARISSA,

Addressed to the AUTHOR.

Occasioned by some critical Conversations on the
CHARACTERS and CONDUCT of that Work.

WITH

Some Reflections on the Character and Behaviour
of PRIOR's EMMA.



LONDON:

Printed for J. Robinson in Ludgate-street.

M,DCC,XLIX.

[Price One Shilling.]

CRITICAL REMARKS

ON

SIR CHARLES GRANDISON,
CLARISSA and PAMELA.

ENQUIRING,

Whether they have a Tendency to corrupt
or improve the Public Taste and Morals.

IN A

LETTER to the AUTHOR.

By a LOVER of VIRTUE.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DOWSE, opposite Fountain Court
in the Strand. MDCCCLIV.

[Price One Shilling.]

tion of the composition. These periodical essays which were held up for attack contained Hill's arguments against the deism of Bolingbroke. The author of the *Remarks* takes exception to *Grandison* and to the *Inspectors* because of the anti-deistical beliefs fostered by their authors. An anonymous reviewer found some grounds for attributing the *Critical Remarks* to Alexander Campbell, the author of a *Free and Candid Examination of Lord Bolingbroke's Letter on History*, 1753, and a staunch defender of Bolingbroke's deism (*Monthly Review*, X, 159). Whoever the author may have been, he knew that Richardson had written the anonymously published *Grandison*, for he refers to him by name in the pamphlet (p. 47).

Only six volumes of *Grandison* had been published when this pamphlet appeared on February 21. When Richardson was ready in March to publish his seventh volume, he found, inserted in the *Daily Advertiser* below his own announcement, a further notice for the *Critical Remarks*. It was there asserted for this pamphlet that it defended Homer from the aspersions thrown upon him by Richardson, and proved that Richardson's own writings had "a direct tendency to corrupt the Morals" (*Daily Advertiser*, March 14, 1754). That *Grandison* is an attack upon Homer seems a fantastic idea. The slender evidence for such a charge lies in two bits of conversation in which Christian poets are declared superior to pagan poets (*Grandison*, 1st ed., I, 74; VI, 288). The second charge against Richardson is familiar to all who know the attacks on *Pamela*.

A CANDID
EXAMINATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.

In a LETTER to a LADY of DISTINCTION.

Published by PERMISSION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for, and sold by Mr. DODSLEY, in Pallmall; Mr. HODGKINS, on London Bridge; Mr. SANDBY, in Fleet-Street; Mr. WHITWORTH, at the Feathers, in the Poultry; and Mr. BOURNE, and Mr. COOK, under the Royal Exchange. 1754.

86. CANDID EXAMINATION OF SIR CHARLES GRANDISON, attributed to Francis Plumer.

First Edition, 1754, 8° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.3 × 7.3 cm.


Collation: [A]² B-G⁴ H²; pp. [ii] + 54 (see below).

Contents: Half-title, verso blank, "[a line of flowers] | A CANDID | EXAMINATION | OF THE | HISTORY | OF | Sir CHARLES GRANDISON. | [Enclosed between square brackets] PRICE ONE SHILLING. | [a line of flowers]", [i-ii]; title-page, verso blank, [1-2]; text [3]-42; and 35[for 43]-41[for 49]; postscript, 42[for 50]-46[for 54].

Note: Though there are two sets of pages numbered from 35-42, the text proceeds correctly. D2 is unsigned.

This edition exists in two states:

1. A two-line errata note is printed on p. 46[for 54] (Yale).
2. A much longer errata slip has been pasted over the original errata note (Yale).

 Publication: April 16, 1754; price, 1s. (*Public Advertiser*).

THIS work is attributed to Francis Plumer. The writer knew that Richardson was the author of *Grandison*, inasmuch as he refers to him frequently as Mr. R——n. Lady Bradshaigh read the work, and professed surprise to find that Robert Dodsley's name appeared as a bookseller

for a piece of criticism which she felt was so prejudicial to Richardson. Richardson replied to Lady Bradshaigh, making his own case against Plumer: "Where his Blame seems most plausible, he is most mistaken, not having comprehended, or at least, not attended to the Delicacy of the Situation . . . But I did not intend to take even this little Notice of The Candid Examination; a little complicated Piece, as it is, of Pride, Conceit, Arrogance; his very Praise not always given in the right Place" (*Forster MSS.*, XI, ff. 98, 102).

When this work came to the attention of the *Monthly Review*, William Rose found it on the whole quite friendly to Richardson, though superficial and injudicious in its critical approach (X, 311. For the reviewer's name, see Benjamin C. Nangle, *The Monthly Review, First Series*, Oxford, 1934).

In a note on the verso of the title-page of the third edition (see no. 88), Plumer said that the pamphlet was written originally as a letter to a lady in the country, and that he had at first no intention of publishing it. The *Postscript* (pp. 50-54) was written after the appearance of the seventh volume of *Grandison*, March 14, 1754.

87. CANDID EXAMINATION OF SIR CHARLES GRANDISON.

Second Edition, 1755(?).

I have not seen a copy of the second edition, but an advertisement for it appeared in the *Whitehall Evening Post*, March 27-29, 1755, and in the *Daily Advertiser*, March 29. It sold for 1s.


88. CANDID EXAMINATION OF SIR CHARLES GRANDISON.

Third Edition, 1755, 8° in half-sheets.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 16.4 × 8.5 cm.

Collation: [A]² B-H⁴, I1; pp. [iv] + 58.

Contents: Half-title, verso blank, "[a line of flowers] | A CANDID | EXAMINATION | OF THE | HISTORY | OF | Sir CHARLES GRANDISON. | [a line of flowers] | [Enclosed between square brackets] PRICE ONE SHILLING.", [i-ii]; title-page, with advertisement to the reader on verso, [iii-iv]; text, [1]-58.

 *Publication*: No advertisement found.

THE additions to the text in this edition are largely in the form of notes, which the author explains (p. iv) were not "necessary" in the original letter. See No. 86.

89. THE PATHS OF VIRTUE DELINEATED.

First Edition, 1756, 12°.

A CANDID
EXAMINATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.

In a LETTER to a LADY of DISTINCTION.

Published by PERMISSION.

THE THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N;

Printed for, and sold by, Mr. DODDLEY, in Pall-Mall; Mr. HODGKINS, on London Bridge; Mr. SANDBY, in Fleet-Street; Mr. WHITWORTH, at the Feather, in the Poultry; and Mr. BOURNE, and Mr. COOK, under the Royal Exchange. M.DCC.LV.

The Paths of VIRTUE delineated;

OR, THE

HISTORY

IN

MINIATURE

Of the Celebrated

PAMELA,

CLARISSA HARLOWE,

AND

Sir CHARLES GRANDISON,

Familiarised and Adapted

To the CAPACITIES of YOUTH.

Great Blessings ever wait on virtuous Deeds,
And, tho' a late, a sure Reward succeeds.

CONGRATV.

LONDON:

Printed for R. BALDWIN, in Paternoster-Row.

MDCCLVI.

THE

HISTORY

OF

Sir CHARLES GRANDISON

SPIRITUALIZED in Part.

A

VISION.

With REFLECTIONS thereon.

By THEOPHILA.

—*Sic parvula conparat Magna Adam.* VIRGIL.

—*What surmounts the reach
Of human Sense, I shall delineate so
By lik'ning (spiritual to corporeal Forms,
As may express them best, tho' what if Earth
Be but the Shadow of Heav'n; and Things therein
Each o'ther like, more than on Earth is thought?*

MILTON.

LONDON:

Printed for GEORGE KNIGHT, at the Bible and Crown
in Grace-Church-Street.

MDCCLX.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 13.5 × 7.2 cm.

Collation: [A]⁴ B-K¹² L⁸; pp. viii + 232. (1 leaf for engraved frontispiece.)

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; preface, [iii]-vii[for viii]; text of *Pamela*, [1]-28; text of *Clarissa*, 29-134; text of *Grandison*, 135-232.

Illustrations: The frontispiece, designed and engraved by Anthony Walker [1726-1765], shows Virtue triumphant in the cause of Truth.

Note: The first five leaves of each gathering are signed.

Publication: May 4, 1756; price, 2s. 6d. bound (*London Evening Post*, May 1-4).

THE name of the author who first adapted Richardson's novels for the use of children is not known, though inevitably Oliver Goldsmith has been suggested. Another edition of the *Paths of Virtue*, printed for R. Baldwin and B. Collins, 1764, is frequently mistaken for the first edition, inasmuch as no indication to the contrary is given on its title-page. The name of Collins in the imprint provides a ready means of identifying it. Charles Welsh says that Newberry sold Collins this half-share in the book for £6 8s. 6d. (*A Bookseller of the Last Century*, London, 1885, p. 300). Newberry's connection with the book leads naturally to the rumour that Goldsmith was its author. In the edition published by Collins and Baldwin, the text of *Pamela* runs from pp. 1-48; of *Clarissa*, from pp. 49-138; and of *Grandison*, from pp. 139-239, with p. 240 blank.

The American abridgements of Richardson's novels which I have examined were all written with an eye very closely fixed on the edition of the *Paths of Virtue*, 1756. The title was used for two editions of abridgements of *Clarissa*. *The Paths of Virtue Delineated, or Clarissa*, etc., was published in Philadelphia in 1791. The same title was used for a book published at Cooperstown in 1795, written according to a note on the title-page of one copy by Chester Clark, Esq. (A. S. W. Rosenbach, *Early American Children's Books*, Portland, Maine, 1933, nos. 152, 199). English abridgements of the novels published separately in the eighteenth century also followed closely the text of the edition of the *Paths of Virtue* of 1756; and a "new edition" of the work was published in London in 1813 under the title *Beauties of Richardson*.

According to *Book Auction Records* (XXV, 492), an abridgement of *Clarissa* was published in two volumes, duodecimo, in Dublin in 1751. I have found no other reference to this work.

90. THE HISTORY OF SIR CHARLES GRANDISON SPIRITUALIZED.


First Edition, 1760, 12°.

Title-page: Reproduced. Type page 14.6 × 8.1 cm.

Collation: A⁸ B-E¹² F⁴; pp. xvi + 104.

Contents: Title-page, verso blank, [i-ii]; "To the Publisher", [iii]-

v; blank page, [vi]; preface, [vii]–xii; introduction, [xiii]–xvi; text of *Grandison Spiritualized*, [1]–81; blank page, [82]; text of *Reproach to Fancy*, [83]–89; blank page, [90]; text of *Author's Complaint of Deafness*, [91]–95; blank page, [96]; book-seller's advertisements, [97–104].

 *Publication*: June 19, 1760; price, 1s. 6d. sewed; 2s. neatly bound (*London Chronicle*, June 17–19).

THE author of this work professed to find a mystical meaning in the marriage of Sir Charles and Harriet Byron. The happiness arising from this union was that of the pious soul, who, after the struggles of this life, found himself translated into heaven. It is not difficult to imagine Richardson's feelings, if he ever read this work. I do not know the author's name.

The title may have been suggested by John Flavel's *Husbandry Spiritualized* and *Navigation Spiritualized*. George Keith, the publisher of *Grandison Spiritualized*, was at this time offering for sale new editions of both of Flavel's books (*London Chronicle*, July 12–15, 1760).

A copy of this work is in the B.M.

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